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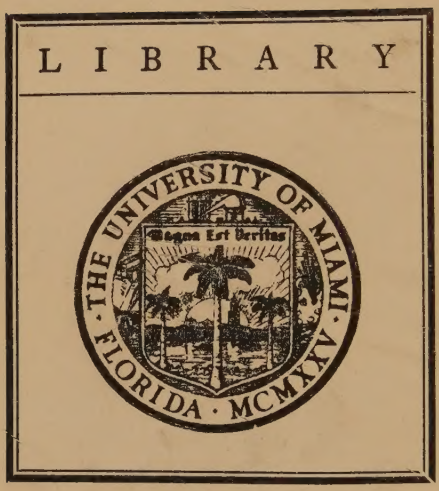

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A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND

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A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND

BY

HERBERT PAUL

IN FIVE VOLUMES

VOL. II

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A HISTORY OF MODERN ENGLAND

CHAPTER I

THE TREATY OF PARIS

THE battle before Kars on the 29th of September was the last of the war, unless the capture of Kinburn can be called a battle. The fall of Kars on the 28th of November was the final event in the sphere of action, as distinguished from the sphere of diplomacy. However disastrous in itself, it predisposed the mind of the Czar to peace, inasmuch as it was something to set off against the humiliation of Sebastopol. The elation caused in France by the triumphant capture of the Malakoff gave a powerful stimulus to the general desire for peace now dominant among the French people. Peace was for the first time in the air, and even Lord Palmerston felt its influence, as he showed in various ways. On the 22nd of October, while the fate of Kars was still in suspense, died Sir William Molesworth, who had succeeded Lord John Russell as Secretary of State for the Colonies. He "belonged," as his biographer, Mrs. Fawcett, says, "to the race of heroic invalids." At the age of forty-five he had obtained the post for which he was best fitted, and acquired the right of fostering those free British communities whose independence he had done so much to promote. Within four months he died. Lord Palmerston took the strange course of offering the place to Lord Stanley,

1855.

Peace in the air.

Death of Molesworth.

1855. who was neither a Whig nor a Peelite, and was strongly opposed to the continuance of the war. Lord Stanley, by his father's advice, refused the offer. It was none the less significant that the offer should have been made. Lord Palmerston next approached Mr. Sidney Herbert, who, like the rest of the Peelites, was then pacific, but in vain. Finally, he had recourse to Mr. Labouchere, a Whig of the most orthodox and respectable type. Since the 25th of August, when he wrote to his brother that the danger after the fall of Sebastopol would be an inconsiderate peace, Lord Palmerston had probably discovered that the French Emperor was sick of the war, that the French people were even less bellicose than the Emperor, and that if England continued the struggle she would have to continue it without France.

Futile overtures.

Moles-worth's successor.

Peace was plainly at hand. Prince Alexander Gortschakoff, the Russian Ambassador at Vienna, and the representative of his country at the unsuccessful Conference, summed up the situation in a neat epigram. "Events," he said, "have forced Russia to be dumb, but not to be deaf."[1] The smaller States of Germany had always been Russian in their sympathies, and it was through them that the first overtures came. Towards the end of October Herr von Pfordten, the Prime Minister of Bavaria, arrived in Paris, and had two interviews with the Emperor of the French. The Emperor's language was extremely cunning. He declared that he was in favour of peace. If Russia would consent to the neutralisation of the Black Sea, he would make peace in spite of England. If not, he would appeal to the spirit of nationality, especially the spirit of Poland. On his way Pfordten stopped at Frankfort, where Bismarck, the greatest of living diplomatists except Cavour, was then residing in

The first overtures.

The French Emperor's language.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. i. p. 455.

comparative obscurity as the Minister of Prussia. Pfordten communicated with Bismarck, and Bismarck with his official chief at Berlin, Baron Manteuffel. At the same time Count Beust, First Minister of Saxony, who had also visited the Tuileries, informed the Emperor, on the authority of Baron Brunnow, the late Russian Ambassador in London, that Russia would be willing to negotiate if she were not asked to pay an indemnity, or to cede any part of her dominions. There was thus a sort of understanding between Russia and France, which gave Count Beust an opportunity of preaching moderation to his personal friend Nesselrode. With truly remarkable foresight Count Beust assured the Russian Chancellor that a country with eighty millions of inhabitants could not be prevented for more than ten or twelve years from establishing a fleet in waters which were under her control.

1855.

Russia's position.

Beust and Nesselrode.

While these private and unofficial soundings were being taken, the King of Sardinia, accompanied by Count Cavour, paid visits to Paris and to London. At Paris he was rather coldly received, for the French Emperor had at that time no desire to quarrel with Austria. In London he was a popular hero, partly because he stood for the future independence of Italy, and partly because he was under the ban of the Pope.[1] The Queen treated him with the utmost consideration, and he discovered, if he did not know before, that the most influential statesmen in England, with the Prime Minister at their head, were ardent enthusiasts for the Italian cause. The religious societies poured upon him addresses of welcome, though the irregularities of his private life were a subject of uneasy suspicion to his evangelical admirers, and of flagrant notoriety to the rest of the world. For

Victor Emmanuel and Cavour in Paris and London.

[1] The monasteries in Piedmont had been recently suppressed.

1855. the movement, however, he got nothing more substantial than sympathy. The British Cabinet proceeded upon the principle of one thing at a time, and Lord Clarendon, with all his just admiration for Cavour, could only impress upon the most illustrious of Italian patriots that the soldiers of Piedmont must be content with the glory they had won. The Italian question stood over for a time. But it was in the hands of Cavour, and so was Louis Napoleon.

Count Seebach.

At this point another actor began to work behind the scenes. The Minister of Saxony at Paris, Count Seebach, had been entrusted with the interests of Russian subjects during the war. He was Count Nesselrode's brother-in-law, and the Emperor Alexander held him in high esteem. In December he went to Petersburg and saw the Czar. The Czar was, as he afterwards showed, a sincere reformer, and longed for the opportunity of devoting himself to the works of peace. He was elated by the fall of Kars, and more justly proud of the gallant defence which had been made by the garrison of Sebastopol. Todleben, Khorniloff, Nakhimoff, Istomine, are names which live, and deserve to live, in Russian history. If Count Seebach had been left alone, the train which he had laid might have led in a few weeks to the desired end. Unfortunately Austria interfered, and Austria meant Count Buol. Bismarck declared that if he could be for one hour of his life the great man Buol supposed himself to be all day, and every day, his glory would be established for ever before God and man. When the Austrian Chancellor heard that Sebastopol had fallen, he wrote to Beust, "The Danubian Principalities are in our pocket."[1] Buol began by assuming the functions of an arbitrator, and transmitting proposals without

The intrusion of Buol.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol i. p. 457.

consulting England. Lord Palmerston at once wrote to Persigny, the French Ambassador in London, and said, with his usual plainness, that such methods did not suit England, who would have nothing to do with them. A proposal from Russia, such as Seebach might have procured, would, of course, have been a totally different thing. Count Buol abandoned his intention of proceeding without England. But he adopted a course hardly less dangerous. His terms were reasonable enough in themselves. They embodied three of the Four Points adopted at Vienna, and substituted for the other the neutralisation of the Black Sea. There was added a slight change of frontier for the benefit of Moldavia. This despatch came from the wrong source, and in the wrong form. In the first place, it emanated from Austria, upon whose support Russia thought she had a right to reckon after the Conference of Vienna. In the second place, it was an Ultimatum, accompanied by the threat that if it were rejected, diplomatic relations between Vienna and Petersburg would cease.

1855. Palmerston's protest.

At the beginning of January Count Nesselrode sent a reply which accepted the Four Points, but objected to any addition whatever. The negotiations had apparently failed, and the French Emperor held a Council of War at Paris, which was attended by the Duke of Cambridge. Nothing came of this Council. Nothing perhaps could have come of it in any case. But fortunately Alexander the Second was more flexible than his father. Yielding to earnest solicitations from the King of Prussia, he accepted the Austrian proposals without reserve on the 16th of January 1856. If Lord Palmerston had been left to himself, he would undoubtedly have refused to treat on the footing suggested by Austria, and from his point

1856. Nesselrode's reply to Buol.

Acceptance of the Austrian proposals.

1856. of view he would have been right. For the conditions demanded of Russia were in glaring contrast with the cost of the war. If the war was politic, the peace was ignominious, and from that dilemma there could be no escape. But England was not her own mistress. She was tied and bound, not to France, but to the man who had made France his own. Louis Napoleon was now quite as anxious to get out of the war as he had formerly been anxious to get into it, and the attentions he had received in England did not move him in the least. Palmerston still rode the high horse. To Sir Hamilton Seymour, now at Vienna, he wrote on the 24th of January: "Buol's statement to you the night before last was what in plain English we should call impertinent. We are happily not yet in such a condition that an Austrian Minister should bid us sign a treaty without hesitation or condition. . . . He may depend upon it we shall do no such thing." He added, with characteristic arrogance, "The British nation is unanimous in this matter. I say unanimous, for I cannot reckon Cobden, Bright, and Co. for anything."[1] But all this was fanfaronade. For the purpose of these negotiations Palmerston was as much the Minister of the Emperor Napoleon as Walewski himself. As for Turkey, the fountain and origin of the war, who had been engaged with Russia long before the Allies came in, she was not even told that she was to have for the future no ports, no ships, and no arsenals in the Black Sea. Says Greville, on the authority of Cornewall Lewis, "When the French and Austrian terms were discussed in the Cabinet, at the end of the discussion some one modestly asked whether it would not be proper to communicate to Musurus[2] what was in agitation and

England's subordination to France.

Turkey ignored.

[1] Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. pp. 106, 107.
[2] The Turkish Ambassador in London.

what had been agreed upon, to which Clarendon said he saw no necessity whatever; and indeed that Musurus had recently called upon him, when he had abstained from giving him any information whatever of what was going on."[1] Lord Palmerston would not have been supported by his Cabinet in proposing to continue the war without France. But it is possible that he might have obtained a majority in the House of Commons, and it is probable that the country would have followed him. For while it was absurd to describe as "Cobden, Bright, and Co." a party which contained Mr. Gladstone, Sir James Graham, Lord Grey, and many others of the highest ability, the war remained to the end as popular in England as it had become unpopular in France. 1856. Popularity of the war in England.

On the first of February, the day after the meeting of the British Parliament, a protocol was signed at Vienna by the representatives of the five Powers, and the Congress for the final settlement of the peace was appointed to be held in Paris. The selection of the French capital had been announced in the Queen's Speech, which also acknowledged with gratitude the good offices tendered by the Emperor of Austria. Considering the absolutely selfish policy of Austria during the last three years, and the encouragement she had given to the war without the slightest intention of taking part in it herself, Lord Palmerston can hardly have been serious when he put those words into the mouth of his Sovereign. In a more dignified, and a more manly strain was the assurance that Great Britain's resources were unimpaired, and that she was ready if she were called upon to continue the struggle. But in fact peace was as good as made, and France was at least as eager as Russia for the termination of The Congress of Paris. The Queen's Speech.

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 24th December 1855.

1856.

Louis Napoleon and Frederick William.

hostilities. The Emperor had indeed on the last day of the old year addressed to the Imperial Guard, who had just returned from the front, language which implied that their services might soon be again required. But the menace was understood to be directed against Prussia, and especially against King Frederick William, who was suspected of something more than sympathy with his imperial kinsman at Petersburg. Since then the King had intervened, and had persuaded the Emperor Alexander to accept the Austrian proposals. Yet, when the Congress met, Prussia, being still suspected by the Allies, was not represented at the Board. One cause for the French Emperor's pacific ardour was the state of the French army in the Crimea, which had been decimated by typhus fever, whereas the health of the British troops was remarkably improved.

Futility of the Opposition.

The British Government had in these circumstances little to fear from the Opposition. To obstruct the making of peace would have been in any case a serious responsibility, and the Conservative party were divided among themselves. Lord Derby, Lord Malmesbury, and Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton were still fiercely warlike. Mr. Disraeli, Mr. Walpole, and Lord Stanley were now thoroughly pacific. Mr. Disraeli's newspaper, the *Press*, had contained the earliest news of the negotiations, and had earnestly supported them, while Lord Palmerston's favourite organ, the *Morning Post*, took exactly the opposite line. On the opening night of the session Mr. Disraeli said very little, and Lord Derby chiefly confined himself to some natural strictures upon the abandonment of Fenwick Williams at Kars.

The armistice.

The Congress did not actually meet before the 25th of February, when an armistice till the 31st of March was at once concluded, and the news of

it was dispatched by telegraph to the headquarters of all the armies in the Crimea. The Plenipotentiaries began to assemble in their most agreeable meeting-place by the middle of February. The first to arrive were the Russians. They were Baron Brunnow, who of all his countrymen knew England best, and Prince Orloff, the most distinguished of Muscovite diplomatists, who did not conceal his belief that if he had been sent to Constantinople instead of Prince Mentschikoff, there would have been no war. Prince Orloff very soon ingratiated himself with the people of Paris, who already, says M. de la Gorce,[1] preferred their enemies to their allies. Such was the result of courting a base impostor in the hope of winning the friendship of a chivalrous nation. The next to put in an appearance was Lord Clarendon, childishly jealous of Brunnow for having stolen a march on him, as if the Foreign Secretary could not have come as soon as he pleased. His colleague was the British Ambassador, Lord Cowley, who hated Russia, and had no love for Napoleon the Third. From Vienna came the Chancellor, Count Buol, who stopped on his way at Frankfort to inform Herr von Bismarck that the interests of Prussia would be safe in his hands. Count Cavour came from Turin, silent, attentive, and apparently simple, the deepest thinker and subtlest schemer of them all. The Sultan sent Ali Pasha, one of the few honest Turks in public life. Besides the Special Envoys, the Ministers of the Powers accredited to France took part in the Congress. The Chairman was the French Minister for Foreign Affairs, Count Walewski, whom no one respected, his master least of all. M. Benedetti, who afterwards flashed into a sudden and transient fame, acted as Secretary.

1856.

Arrival of the Plenipotentiaries.

Reconciliation between France and Russia.

The members of the Congress.

[1] *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. i. p. 460.

1856.

Diplomatic delay.

Paris is a pleasant city even now. It was far pleasanter in 1856. The Congress took its time. The effusion of blood had been stopped, and there seemed no reason to hurry. The Emperor was hospitable. There were plenty of dinners, evening parties, and private theatricals. The Congress only sat every other day, and in the middle of March there was an adjournment to celebrate the

Birth of the Prince Imperial.

birth of the Prince Imperial. This event was doubly fortunate for the Emperor, inasmuch as his cousin and presumptive heir, "Plon Plon,"[1] though one of the ablest, was also one of the most unpopular men in France. But in truth and in fact the Treaty of Paris, though not signed till the 30th of March, nor ratified till the 27th of April, was from the first a foregone conclusion. The French

The French determination for peace.

Emperor, who lived on a volcano, durst not prolong the war, and the British Government could not desert the French Emperor. Lord Cowley summed up the situation very clearly in conversation with Charles Greville on the 1st of March. The French, he said, had placed us in a fix. "If our army were in Asia Minor I should not care, because then we might say to them, 'Do just what you please, make peace if it suits you, we shall not resent it or have any quarrel with you, but we will

Lord Cowley's view.

carry on the war on our own account.' As it is, if we insist on renewing the war, the French *cannot* and would not abandon us, and leave us to be attacked by superior Russian armies, they would therefore very reluctantly go on with the war; but it would be well known that we were dragging them on with us, and the exasperation against us would be great and general, and, say what we might, a quarrel between France and England would infallibly ensue."

The first business settled at the Congress was

[1] Prince Napoleon, son of Jerome.

the neutralisation of the Black Sea, which had broken up the Conference of Vienna. It gave little trouble now, partly because the Russian fleet had been destroyed, and partly because it was a condition precedent to the Congress being held. The capture of Sebastopol had to count for something, and it could hardly have counted for less. The next point with which the Congress dealt, the condition of the Porte's Christian subjects, was discussed for a considerable time. But ultimately they were left to the tender mercies of the Sultan, who had just issued one of his usual promises to observe the principle of religious equality, and all the Powers renounced their right of interference. A strange consequence of war between Christian States. A more creditable article in the Treaty was that which provided that in the event of future differences with Turkey, the Powers concerned should invoke mediation before proceeding to war. Although this article had no practical result, it was the formal recognition of a great principle which has since developed in various ways. The free navigation of the Danube was very properly secured, and an International Commission was appointed to superintend it. The Russian Protectorate over the Danubian Principalities was abolished, and they were declared independent under the suzerainty of the Porte. The only cession of territory demanded was a small part of Bessarabia, insignificant in size, but valuable to Russia, because it gave her sole access to the Danube. It was Austria who demanded this sacrifice, and great was the indignation of Russia against her. But on this point too the Czar ultimately yielded, though Prince Orloff revenged himself with the remark that the Austrians talked as if they had taken Sebastopol. The Treaty of Paris was signed by the representatives of England,

1856.

Neutralisation of the Black Sea.

Abandonment of the Christians.

The Danube and the Principalities.

Signature of the Treaty.

1856. France, Austria, Russia, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia. Prussia had not at first been invited to take part in the Congress. There was no valid reason for excluding her since Austria was admitted, and as a matter of fact the King of Prussia was the proximate cause of the Congress meeting at all. The French Emperor, who never knew where he might want a friend, exerted himself to procure the admission of Prussian envoys, and on the 18th of March the First Minister of Frederick William, Baron Manteuffel, along with Count Hatzfeldt, took his seat at the table of the Congress.

The Declaration of Paris.

The Treaty of Paris was accompanied by a Declaration not less important than itself. This Declaration, which deals with maritime war, embodied and made permanent the principles on which the recent campaign had been conducted. Lord Derby afterwards called it in the House of Lords the Clarendon Capitulation. But it was proposed by Walewski, and referred by Lord Clarendon to the Cabinet, who unanimously approved of it, with the condition that it should only be binding between those Powers which accepted it. The representatives of the Powers thereupon agreed that privateering should be abolished; that a neutral flag should cover an enemy's goods unless they were contraband of war; that neutral goods, with the same exception, should not be seizable under the enemy's flag; and that blockades, to be valid must be effective, or, in other words, maintained by an adequate naval force. It was against the restrictions upon the right of search that Lord Derby with so much energy declaimed. But it would have been quite impossible to obtain for a great naval Power like England the universal right to search all vessels whenever she happened to be at war, and the inevitable consequence of making the attempt would have been

to bring down upon her the enmity of all mankind. 1856.
The hostile motion which Lord Colchester made, and Lord Derby supported, was defeated in the House of Lords by a majority of 54. It was the only serious attempt of the Opposition to undo what had been done at Paris. Their leaders criticised, as it was their duty to criticise, the Treaty and its provisions. But even if they had agreed in opinion, there were several reasons why they could produce no effect either within or without the walls of Parliament. For one thing, the Peace was an absolute necessity, and no better terms could have been procured. For another, there was no public man, not even Lord Derby, who could plausibly pretend to be more warlike than Lord Palmerston. Moreover, the pusillanimous refusal of the Conservatives to take office when Lord Aberdeen resigned tied their hands and paralysed their efforts. To prove that the Treaty of Paris was beneficial to England would have been beyond the skill of a much greater orator than Lord Palmerston. To show that Lord Derby could not have made a better Treaty, and would not even try, was within the resources of the youngest Parliamentary hand.

April 28–May 1. The debate on the fall of Kars.

Three nights were indeed given up to a brilliant and animated debate on the fall of Kars, in which Mr. Whiteside, afterwards Lord Chief Justice of Ireland, and the Attorney-General, Sir Alexander Cockburn, aired their respective vocabularies to the admiration of the House. But the Government had a majority of 127. The Attorney-General laid the blame upon Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, whose treatment of General Williams was inexcusable. Lord Palmerston defended the Ambassador, who had carried out his policy even when he was not Prime Minister. But the real culprits were the Turks, who would not move a step to relieve Kars, and were quite willing that the garrison should be

1856. starved into surrender. If the Western Powers were kind enough to fight for them, they were not going to fight for themselves.

The close of the Congress. Two separate and independent Treaties were signed at this time in Paris. By one England and France agreed to protect Sweden and Norway against Russia. By the other and more important of the two the independence and integrity of the Ottoman Empire were placed under the guarantee of England, France, and Austria. On the 8th of April, after the Treaty of Paris had been signed, but before it had been ratified, Count Walewski invited his colleagues to a general discussion. He began by attacking the Belgian press, which, being free, was accustomed to speak the truth about the Emperor and himself. He also referred to the condition of Italy, and severely criticised the Government of Naples, where King Bomba still flourished. Lord Clarendon supported him with most undiplomatic vehemence, and so, of course, did Cavour, to the unspeakable indignation of Buol. Nothing came of this singular conversation at the time, though fault was found with Lord Clarendon in England for not having more energetically protested against any interference with the liberties of Belgium. Cavour's appeal to England and France on behalf of Italy, dated the 16th of April, was unanswered. But he had gained his immediate point. He had represented Italy, not Sardinia, in the councils of Europe.

The results of the war. M. de Bourqueney, French Ambassador at Vienna, and the colleague of Walewski at the Congress of Paris, has left on record a memorable sentence concerning the terms of peace. "When one reads the Treaty of the 30th of March," he said, "there are no visible signs to show who were the conquerors, and who were the vanquished." The English losses by death, not counting the wounded

and disabled, were 270 officers and 22,467 men. 1856.
The French losses were naturally larger, for they had larger forces engaged. There is no authentic record of the number of Turks who perished. Of the Italians only twenty-eight were killed at the battle of the Tchernaya. But two thousand died of cholera in camp, and died for their country as truly as those who died on the field. The Chancellor of the Exchequer[1] estimated the total cost of the campaign in money at seventy-six millions sterling. Before the Congress met, the French Emperor had pledged himself that Russia should not be required to pay an indemnity or to cede territory. No indemnity was paid or asked, and the Bessarabian rectification of frontier was almost ludicrously small. It had been the Emperor Napoleon's war. It was the Emperor Napoleon's peace. He had insisted upon the neutralisation of the Black Sea, and the Black Sea was neutralised. This provision endured as long as he remained on the throne, and only a few months longer. The Russian delegates offered to it, as we have seen, no objection whatsoever, though they had refused it at Vienna the year before. If Russia felt humiliated, she might reflect that the Western Powers had to impose the same restriction upon their Turkish client, for whom they went to war. The Russian losses were enormous, and greatly exceeded those of the Allies. But a few hundred thousand men are little enough to a country with a population of eighty millions. Russia soon recovered, and for the removal of a galling restraint she waited with her customary patience. Even Palmerston did not expect that the prohibition of a Russian fleet in the Black Sea would more than last his time. But he believed, such was his sanguine disposition, that the Turk would meanwhile reform his Government; that the

[1] Sir George Cornewall Lewis.

1856. Pashas would cease to oppress the Christians; in short, that the Ethiopian would wash himself white. All his life Palmerston believed what he wished to believe, and it was one great source of his strength. It made him prompt, fearless, and decisive, a daring pilot in extremity, but a dangerous guide in circumstances where the principles he should have followed were beyond the range of his vision.

Palmerston and Russia. Palmerston insisted with scrupulous exactitude upon the fulfilment by Russia of every article in the Treaty of Paris, and in that he succeeded without the assistance of France. Indeed, before the operation was concluded, he had quarrelled not merely with the new Russian Ambassador, Count Chreptovitch, but also with the French Minister for Foreign Affairs. The grievances against Russia were that she had destroyed the fortifications of Kars before delivering the place to Turkey, and had attempted to take possession of Serpent's Island, at the mouth of the Danube. There was also a dispute about the new Bessarabian frontier, owing to the existence of an old and a new Bolgrad. Palmerston could not have shown more energy in pressing these points if he had been Grand Vizier. But Count Walewski, notwithstanding a strong personal appeal made to him by Palmerston in a friendly letter,[1] refused to concern himself any further with the execution of the Treaty. The friendship of Russia was already more important to France than the friendship of England.

Effect of the war upon Turkey, France, and Italy. There were three beneficiaries of the Crimean War. The first was the Sultan of Turkey. The second was the Emperor of the French. The third was the King of Sardinia. The Sultan found himself freed from all restraints upon his absolute power over his Christian subjects. He had control over their lives, and of what he valued more than their

[1] Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. pp. 119–121.

lives, their purses. The right to murder involves the right to rob. Turkey had indeed gained no territory of importance. She did not even get a square yard of the Crimea, which had been taken from her by the Empress Catherine in 1783. But she was free from the danger of Russian attack. The Black Sea, if closed to herself, was closed also to her enemy, and the integrity of her dominions was under a collective guarantee. The French Emperor had reaped the fruits of his diplomacy. If the war had done nothing for France, it had done almost everything for him. "Truly," says M. de la Gorce,[1] "Napoleon the Third could not have dreamed of a more splendid introduction to his reign; and it is intelligible that at the moment of peace he should show himself indifferent to the profits of the struggle, indifferent to the point of letting them escape him. The real fruits of victory were the fresh consecration of his name, the impotence, henceforth admitted, of the Opposition, and above all, the establishment of his authority in the eyes of Europe, as well as of France." The Crimean War was a heavier blow to the Liberalism of the French nation than to the autocracy of the Russian Czar. The King of Sardinia, on the other hand, and his great Minister, were far more than repaid for the lives and money they had sacrificed. They had, so to speak, placed the Italian question on the order of the day, or at least on the order of the morrow. It had been raised at a European Congress in the presence of Austria. It had stirred the sympathies of the Liberal party in England. It was gradually tightening its hold upon the successful conspirator whose old acquaintances did not lose sight of him in the splendour of the Tuileries. 1856.

And England? What had the war done for

[1] *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. ii. p. 2.

1856. Upon England.

her? She certainly went into it with clean hands, for she derived, and could derive, from it no material advantage whatsoever. The ardour with which she flung herself into the fray, and the reluctance with which she left it, were partly due to thirty-nine years of uninterrupted peace. If the Englishmen of 1854 desired to prove that they could fight as well in the Crimea as their fathers fought in the Peninsula, they undoubtedly proved it. "That astonishing infantry" astonished the Russians at Inkerman as it had astonished the French at Talavera. What the Light Brigade did at Balaklava no cavalry had ever done in the history of war. Their Charge was celebrated by the Poet Laureate in a famous poem, and Sir Francis Doyle greeted in still nobler verse the sadly triumphant return of the Guards. The Queen, always sympathetic with the army, and appreciative of brave deeds, distributed with her own hands the medals and crosses of honour.[1] Parliament expressed the thanks of the nation, and a memorial was erected in Waterloo Place bearing the word CRIMEA. Inkerman was said to have been won by the private soldier. It was won even more by the regimental officer, to whom the credit of Inkerman and of the Alma chiefly belongs. Except Lord Raglan, who died at his post, the only General who increased his reputation in the Crimea was Sir Colin Campbell, and he owed nothing to patronage or favour. Lord Lucan and Sir John Burgoyne were recalled, the latter without sufficient reason. It was morally impossible that Simpson, or Codrington, or Evans, or Cardigan should ever be employed again. Of the four Admirals, who at different periods com-

[1] The Victoria Cross "for valour" was instituted, by order of the Queen, on the 29th of January 1856. It was expressly directed to be given without distinction of rank (Clode's *Military Forces of the Crown*, vol. ii. pp. 565–568). But the first Victoria Crosses bestowed by the Queen herself were not given till the 26th of June 1857.

manded in the Black Sea and the Baltic during the campaign, Sir Charles Napier was recalled from the Baltic, and Vice-Admiral Dundas from the Black Sea. But neither Rear-Admiral Dundas, who succeeded the one, nor Sir Edmund Lyons,[1] who succeeded the other, accomplished more than his predecessor. Except Captain Peel, who fought on land, there was no naval hero of the Crimea. Sir Edmund Lyons, though he had spent some years in diplomacy, was a smart seaman, and Kinburn was neatly captured. But Kronstadt was never attacked, and the bombardment of Sebastopol was scarcely aided by the ships. It must be remembered that very few of those vessels were propelled by steam, and that not one of them was sheathed with iron. The most satisfactory result of the Crimean War was that England came out of the struggle stronger than she went in. When the armistice was proclaimed at Traktir Bridge, she had a larger number of soldiers in the Crimea than she had when Sebastopol was first besieged, and her hospitals became in 1855 so different from what they had been in 1854 that their first patients would not have known them. Unprepared for a distant and offensive campaign as England was in 1854, the resources of the country proved more than equal to the trial. The real cause of this phenomenon is inherent in the British race. The individual to whom the credit chiefly belongs is Lord Palmerston. 1856.

[1] Created Lord Lyons after the peace.

CHAPTER II

THE RULE OF DALHOUSIE

1856.

The political consequences of the war.

THE war evoked, as all wars do, the spirit of heroism in every rank of the army. But when we ask for the justification of a war, we expect some other answer than a catalogue of battles and charges. What answer can in this case be made? Lord John Russell told Lord Aberdeen during the negotiations of 1853 that if we did not fight Russia on the Danube we should have to fight her on the Indus. But he was apparently alone in his opinion. That scare is of more recent growth, and so far from the Crimean War abating it, it has been infinitely more prevalent since the Treaty of Paris than it was before. If Russia had conquered Turkey in 1853, she would have threatened, and might have occupied, Constantinople. But the situation would then have become one of general European concern, from which Austria and Prussia could not have stood aloof. The Emperor Nicholas would have been reminded of his promise, and, if necessary, compelled to keep it. Several years after the Crimean War, Lord Palmerston and Sir George Cornewall Lewis had a correspondence on the proverb that prevention is better than cure.[1] Palmerston maintained, as most people without thinking would maintain, the affirmative. Lewis argued that the question depended upon the

[1] Ashley's *Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. pp. 331–334.

magnitude, the certainty, and the proximity of the evil. Twenty thousands of men and fifty millions of money were a large premium of insurance against the chance of Constantinople falling into Russian hands. The Crimean War may be said to have killed the Emperor Nicholas, a restless potentate, too prone to anticipate the future. But his son and successor was not less disposed than himself to go to war with Turkey upon occasion. For some years Russia was weakened, and the weakness of Russia was doubtless a good thing so far as it cleared away an obstacle to revolutionary movements in the Austrian Empire. A Hungarian revolt was not likely to be put down again by Russian aid. If Italy fought for her liberties, she would not have Cossacks to fight. Turkey was under great obligations to England. But they were not greater than her obligations to France, and Lord Stratford's influence over the Sultan was largely personal. The French alliance was a hollow thing, with just enough substance in it to survive the war.

1856.

The limits of insurance.

The weakness of Russia.

The French alliance.

The immediate consequences of the Crimean campaign were slight. In politics Lord Palmerston had established himself as the man of the people, and the necessary man. If he had not made a very glorious peace, he had shown praiseworthy vigour, and he had never despaired of success. He was popular because he possessed in an extraordinary degree the qualities which in an ordinary degree are possessed by most men. He knew the diplomacy of Europe, the ins and outs of foreign politics, as well as a manufacturer knows his warehouse, and yet his ideas were not much above the level of the manufacturer's. He had been all his life in what is called the best society, and he habitually talked the language of the class which then held political power. Except a few scraps and tags of Latin, he

Palmerston's ascendency.

1856. scarcely ever employed in the House of Commons language which his own butler could not understand. He was regarded, not quite correctly, as an upright, downright, straightforward Englishman, who would stand no nonsense, and would never admit his country to be in the wrong. For the moment he had no rival. Lord John Russell was hopelessly discredited by his unintelligible vacillation. Lord Derby had shown remarkable pusillanimity at a crisis which called for firmness and courage. The Peelites were unpopular from their opposition to the later stages of the war, and Mr. Disraeli, though he coquetted with the Manchester School, was not strong enough to emancipate himself from his titular chief in the Lords. If Lord Palmerston had had a policy he might have carried it out, whatever it was. But he had none. He was like Lord Cardigan, after the charge of the Light Brigade. He did not know what to do.

Lord Palmerston saw clearly what was straight before him. But he looked neither to the right nor to the left. He was not thinking of India, from which the next great storm was to come. In the month of February 1856, the Marquess of Dalhousie, after eight years of harder work than any Governor-General had done before him, left Calcutta on his return home. His age, according to the calendar, was forty-four, and he had been at Oxford with his successor, Lord Canning. But in truth he was an old man, worn out on the threshold of middle life by a double term of office, and by the creation of modern India. So long as Lord Dalhousie was willing to remain, every one connected with Indian Government pressed him to stay, and he was willing so long as he was able. At last his physical power succumbed to the burden. He was thoroughbred, and he went till he dropped. "It is well," he said to his doctor

Dalhousie's departure from India.

on the 26th of February, "that there are only twenty-nine days in this month. I could not have held out two days more." But before he tottered on crutches down the bank of the Hugli to embark for England, he spoke a few words of warning to the citizens of Calcutta. "No prudent man," he said, "having any knowledge of Eastern affairs, would ever venture to predict a prolonged continuance of peace in India." Dalhousie knew India, if any one knew it, and was entitled, if anybody was entitled, to be heard. Though even from him, with all his prescience and sagacity, was hidden the precise form in which danger would come, he knew at least that the danger was there, and he told the Government plainly that more troops, especially more British troops, were needed.[1] 1856.

Lord Dalhousie's last official act was to annex the kingdom of Oudh, of which the capital was Lucknow. This was a more important addition to the Indian Empire than either the Punjab or Lower Burmah. It was forced upon the Governor-General, who would have adopted a milder alternative, by the Directors of the East India Company and the President of the Board of Control. In spite of appearances, Lord Dalhousie was not an aggressive ruler. He made no wars of conquest. He repressed disturbances, removed incompetent rulers, and consolidated the strength of the paramount Power, until the sum total of the territory he placed under the Company's jurisdiction was enormous and imposing. Yet he never went out of his way to extend the boundaries of his dominions, and in the case of Oudh he held out against the policy of his employers until they formally over-ruled him. To say that he disapproved of annexing Oudh would be an exaggeration. If he had disapproved of it, The annexation of Oudh.

[1] *Rulers of India: The Marquess of Dalhousie*, by Sir William Hunter, pp. 50, 223, 224.

1856. he would not have done it. On the contrary, he remained to carry it out at the imminent risk of dying at his post, rather than leave an invidious task to a new Governor. But he would gladly have avoided increasing responsibilities of which he alone knew the fulness and the weight. The fact was that the misgovernment of Oudh had become altogether intolerable. When in 1801 the Nawab Vizier was recognised by Lord Wellesley as sovereign of Oudh, and assumed the title of King, he promised that in providing for the welfare of his subjects he would consult the officers of the East India Company, and be guided by their advice. He failed to carry out his promise, and oppressed his people without mercy. For thirty years his misconduct was tolerated, and then in 1831 Lord William Bentinck warned him that unless he mended his ways, he would be deposed. The King, however, died on his throne in 1837, and Lord Auckland made a treaty with his successor, by which the British Government reserved to itself the right of managing the country by its own officers in case of systematic misrule. The Court of Directors disallowed this treaty and ordered that their disallowance should be communicated to the King of Oudh. But this order Lord Auckland disobeyed. Ten years afterwards, in 1847, Lord Hardinge, then on the point of resigning his charge to Lord Dalhousie, gave the King two years in which to reform his Administration on pain of dethronement. The Administration was not reformed, and if Lord Dalhousie had carried out Lord Hardinge's threat in 1849, no one could have blamed him. But he did not. It was only in 1855 that he made up his mind to endure the condition of Oudh no longer. In a masterly and picturesque despatch, such as he alone among Governors-General had the gift of writing, he pointed out to

the Chairs,[1] who must have been well aware of it, 1856.
that the King of Oudh was protected by British troops from the vengeance of his subjects, while he neglected their miseries, devoting himself to "effeminate sensuality, indulged among singers, musicians, and eunuchs, the sole companions of his confidence, and the sole agents of his power." Lord Dalhousie submitted three remedies, of which annexation was the first. The second, which he himself preferred, was the maintenance of the King's dignity with a British administration. The third was a temporary transference of power from the King to the Company. The Directors preferred simple annexation, and it is difficult to blame them. The Cabinet concurred with the Directors, and on the 13th of February, Oudh was annexed. A characteristic entry in Lord Dalhousie's private diary describes his frame of mind. "In humble reliance," he wrote, "on the blessing of the Almighty (for millions of His creatures will draw freedom and happiness from the change) I approach the execution of this duty, gravely and not without solicitude, but calmly and altogether without doubt."[2] These are the words of a great and good man. If the portion of them enclosed in brackets be applied as a test to the results of the Crimean War, they will damn it more fatally than all the speeches of Cobden and of Bright. In the winter of 1854, despite Lord Dalhousie's earnest remonstrances, two British regiments were withdrawn from India to augment the miseries of mankind by debarring the Christian subjects of the Sultan from the protection of a Christian Power. Lord Dalhousie was seriously alarmed at the magnitude of the native army, which then exceeded The native army.
two hundred thousand men, and at the large masses

[1] The popular name for the Directors of the East India Company.
[2] Hunter, p. 176.

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1856. in which it was collected. He especially recommended the reduction of the native cavalry, and if his recommendations had been carried out, a great calamity might have been spared.

Peaceful annexations. Besides his enlargement of the Company's dominions by conquest Lord Dalhousie was responsible for the annexation of several native States without violence or war. The first of these was Satara, the Principality of the Rajah Partab Sing. The greatest was Nagpur, now the Central Provinces. But in making these additions, important as they were, to the territory under British rule, he carried out a policy which was not his own. Ever since 1834 the Court of Directors had adopted the principle, which was in harmony with Hindoo law and custom, that whereas the ruler of a dependent State had, in default of direct male heirs, the right of adoption, that right only applied to property, and did not extend to the power of administration. They claimed for themselves, and exercised, the succession in such cases, holding that it lapsed to the paramount Power unless they chose to recognise the adopted chief. In 1853 the Rajah of Nagpur, a corrupt and incompetent prince, died without adopting any one, and the sovereignty lapsed to the Company. In Satara, in Jhansi, and in other States, the Directors, with Lord Dalhousie's concurrence, while respecting the right of adoption so far as property was concerned, declined to acknowledge it as conferring sovereignty, and the States passed to the paramount Power. The independent States were regarded as outside the scope of the doctrine, and in them adoption involved authority as well as revenue. The effects of this system were undoubtedly beneficial to the inhabitants of the annexed States, and Lord Dalhousie fully approved of it, though he was not its author. But it excited discontent, as well as alarm, among the native

aristocracy, and should have been accompanied, or followed, by greater vigilance in the protection through British troops of British rule in India. It was Lord Dalhousie's misfortune to quarrel with his illustrious Commander-in-Chief, Sir Charles Napier of Scinde, who had usurped the functions of the Governor-General in Council by promising to increase the pay and allowances of discontented troops. Sir Charles Napier maintained that by so doing he had averted a mutiny, and when his conduct was censured by the Governor-General, he resigned. But the Duke of Wellington, who certainly had no prejudice against Sir Charles, held that there was no evidence of mutiny, and that the Governor-General was in the right.[1]

1856.

Dalhousie and Napier.

Lord Dalhousie's achievements were not confined to acts of annexation, and projects of military reform. While he increased the dominions of the Company by more than a third, he connected them by the two material links which bind the modern world together, the telegraph and the railway. His Railway Minute of 1853 is the foundation of the system which now exists. By offering, or inducing the Chairs to offer, a guarantee for the profitable investment of private capital in the construction of railways, he started a fund which now amounts to more than a hundred millions sterling. Port duties were under his rule abolished, and trade was freed from all taxes not necessary for the purpose of raising a revenue. He began the work of putting up telegraphic wires, of which there are about a hundred and fifty thousand miles in India, under conditions of almost insuperable difficulty, which would have discouraged many a resolute man of business. He created a Department of Public

Dalhousie's reforms.

[1] Sir Charles Napier was not quite himself, or else was too much himself, at this time. He seriously proposed that Lord Dalhousie should be recalled, and that he, Sir Charles, should be made Governor-General.

1856 Works. He made the Bara Duab, the largest of Indian canals. He carried the Grand Trunk Road through the Punjab. He organised for the services of the Government a branch of civil engineers. He found a high and practically prohibitive system of postage, if system it could be called. He substituted a three farthing rate for letters throughout the whole of British India. With the able and zealous assistance of Sir Charles Wood, who was much more successful at the Board of Control than ever he had been at the Exchequer, he founded the national education of India by means of the vernacular languages. No such list of achievements, nor anything like it, can be ascribed to any other Governor-General. Yet, with the single exception of the Government schools and colleges, which were mainly, though not entirely, due to Sir Charles Wood, Lord Dalhousie was the real author of them all. He gave the best years of his life to India, and in consenting to remain there till 1856 he sacrificed his health. The four years during which he lingered in his Scottish home were a living death. But, as he said, he had played out his part, and compressed into a short space the work of a lifetime. Very few men are fit to be entrusted with such power as a Governor-General of India had before the era of submarine, or at least of suboceanic telegraph, but Lord Dalhousie was emphatically one of them. His intellectual capacity may be seen in his splendid despatches. The key to his moral character is to be found in the following words from one of his office-notes: "To fear God, and to have no other fear, is a maxim of religion, but the truth of it and the wisdom of it are proved day by day in politics."

CHAPTER III

THE CHURCH AND THE WORLD

In all ages of the Christian Church there have been men who, holding the Christian religion as the purest and the most divine, have sought to reconcile it with philosophy and science by reducing the supernatural element. Though often subject to the reproach of infidelity, and even of atheism, latitudinarian theologians have done more than their orthodox opponents to keep the cultivated classes within the pale of the Church. Their influence has been twofold. They have shown by their own example that freedom of speculation and acceptance of scientific discoveries are compatible with Christian faith and practice. On the other hand, they have taken away stumbling-blocks of superstitious accretion which barred the entrance to the shrine. Christianity has suffered much at the hands of injudicious disciples, who overlaid its simplicity with legends because they would not trust the truth. 1853–56.

An established Church, being a human institution, has advantages and drawbacks. Among the former must be reckoned the fact that, being subject to the law, it keeps the peace among ecclesiastical parties by allowing them all to live quietly within its borders. Some outward observance of forms and ceremonies there must be. But freedom of opinion has greater scope where the The influence of religious establishments.

1853-56. ultimate authority is a lay tribunal. Especially has this been so in the Church of England. We have seen how, despite the Bishop of Exeter, Mr. Gorham was permitted by the Lords of the Council to preach the evangelical doctrine on the subject of baptismal regeneration. Some years later the same authority, the Judicial Committee, pronounced on strictly technical grounds in favour of a High Churchman, who had in published sermons pronounced for the Real Presence of Christ in the Sacrament. This was George Antony Denison, Archdeacon of Taunton and Vicar of East Brent. Dr. Lushington, in the Consistory Court, had condemned the Archdeacon to be deprived of his preferments. The Court of Arches and the Judicial Committee held that the suit had not been begun within the period of two years prescribed by the Church Discipline Act, and reversed the judgment, thereby probably avoiding a schism in the Church. For Archdeacon Denison was as obstinate as he was disinterested, and he would have gone to the stake rather than modify in the smallest degree any opinion that he had once expressed. He might have seceded from the Church of England, like a more famous Archdeacon,[1] and he might have been followed by others. For the school to which he belonged was gaining strength among the clergy, and has continued to gain it ever since. Archdeacon Denison was fortunate in being able to bring his case before a court of law, and he did not mind the inconsistency of submitting himself in spiritual matters to secular Judges. He had the national belief that an Englishman's house was his castle, and an English clergyman's benefice his freehold, from which he could only be extruded by a legal sentence.

The case of Archdeacon Denison.

No such remedy was within the reach of

[1] Manning.

Frederick Maurice, Professor of Divinity at King's College, and Preacher at Lincoln's Inn. Mr. Maurice was deprived of his Professorship by the Council because he did not hold the doctrine of eternal punishment in a manner satisfactory to the Principal, Dr. Jelf. Maurice was a somewhat cloudy theologian, and there is truth in Matthew Arnold's pungent criticism that he was always beating the bush without ever starting the hare. In truth, though he had many accomplishments, and though he exercised great personal influence over some at least of the hard-headed lawyers to whom he preached, he wanted clearness of mind. He belonged not so much to the broad as to the hazy school. But he was perfectly entitled to point out, as he did in his *Theological Essays*, that the object of the Christian religion was salvation, not damnation, and that whatever Eternity might mean, it certainly did not mean a very long time. For these heinous offences, however, he was dismissed by the Council of King's College on the 27th of October 1853. The chief promoters of this intolerance were Bishop Blomfield of London and Lord Radstock. Mr. Gladstone, supported by Sir Benjamin Brodie, proposed as an amendment that the Bishop should appoint "competent theologians" to inquire into the charge of heresy, which, as he said, should be proved like any other. But although Mr. Gladstone's orthodoxy was unimpeachable, his efforts in the cause of justice failed, and, to the no small injury of the College, Maurice was banished from its precints. The event excited a degree of interest altogether disproportionate to its direct significance. King's College was a strictly sectarian foundation, and was not in any way connected with the Government. Maurice, however, was a popular preacher; he had reached a position of considerable eminence in the Church,

1853–56.

The fate of Professor Maurice.

1853–56. and the Council, though it contained some distinguished men, mostly favourable to Maurice, did not command the confidence of the public. The sympathies of all Liberals, and of all who valued intellectual independence, were with the victim of this petty persecution. Bishop Wilberforce, who was by no means a Broad Churchman, pronounced Maurice to be "entirely orthodox." Bishop Lonsdale of Lichfield, a member of the Council, dissented from the judgment of his colleagues. The greatest poet of the age offered Maurice a welcome to Farringford in a poem more truly Horatian than most translations of Horace. Indeed the author of *In Memoriam* was the oracle of Maurice and his circle. For the Church as an institution Tennyson cared very little, if at all. But he had a profoundly religious mind, an intense horror of materialism, and an unshakable belief in the spiritual nature of man. He taught, to use his own expression, the higher Pantheism, that which identifies the universe with God.

Frederick Robertson's sermons. The best commentary on *In Memoriam* ever written is a lecture delivered to working men by Frederick Robertson, the great preacher of Brighton, who died prematurely in 1853. If power of thought is to count in the estimate of a preacher along with power of language, Robertson had no superior in the England of the nineteenth century. The spell of his oratory was indeed irresistible. But the spells of the orator pass away. When the wand of the magician is broken, the magic ceases to work. With Robertson's sermons it is not so. At the distance of half a century they can be read, and re-read, because they are full of matter, because they contain original thought, because they are addressed to the cravings of the human intellect for some explanation of the problems by which it is surrounded more fruitful than the repetition of

antiquated formulas. The poetry of Matthew Arnold, which came into vogue with the editions of his poems in 1853 and 1855, expresses, among other things, the spiritual religion that has broken loose from dogma. Matthew Arnold's poetry had ever since 1853 been growing in general appreciation and esteem. The volume of that year, and the volume of 1855, convinced all good judges that a real poet had come to join Tennyson and Browning. Matthew Arnold never attained the wide popularity of Tennyson, or even of Browning's simplest pieces. He appealed to cultivated minds, and especially to minds disturbed by the struggle of intellectual scepticism with emotional faith. His verse is rarely sensuous, and never voluptuous. It was the stoical, not the epicurean philosophy that he learned from the classical authors he loved so dearly and knew so well. The poem entitled "Progress" breathes the spirit of Pope's Universal Prayer, and it contains the gist of the author's creed. All religions are good, because they have contributed in their kind and degree to the moral refreshment and regeneration of man.

1853–56.

Matthew Arnold's poetry.

The Reverend Charles Kingsley, Rector of Eversley, already known as the author of *Alton Locke*, published *Hypatia* in 1853, and *Westward Ho* in 1854. They are both historical novels, and *Hypatia*, which describes the conflict of Christianity with Paganism in Alexandria, is also theological. A theologian in the technical sense of the term Kingsley was not, nor was he in any sense a student. But by virtue of his strong individuality, and his many gifts, he added power and popularity to the Broad Church. It is as a poet that he will be best remembered, for his ballads have the true ring. He became by dint of keen observation as good a naturalist as an amateur can be, and he wrote a style which all except the best judges mistook for

Charles Kingsley.

1853–56. eloquence. In early life a disciple of Carlyle, he drifted or developed into Christian Socialism, and he was penetrated with genuine zeal for the welfare of the poor. He deserves to be reckoned among the pioneers of sanitary reform, and no layman would have more heartily subscribed than he to Lord Palmerston's Edinburgh letter. He was a passionate admirer of the Reformation, especially of Luther, and had a corresponding hatred for the Church of Rome, which afterwards led him into ground unsuited to his talents. As a mere novelist his brother Henry, the author of *Ravenshoe*, surpassed him, and though a good classical scholar, he had not learning enough to be a successful controversialist. He was a type, of course an exceptionally cultivated and brilliant type, of the sporting parson, devoted to the moral and material interests of his parishioners, but indulging in all manner of lawful recreations, and mixing with the laity as one of themselves.

Broad Churchmen have not always been Radicals, nor even Liberals, in politics. The essential part of their creed, as represented by Kingsley, was its protest against a system which restricted the enjoyments and injured the health of the working classes. They could not salve their consciences by offering the prospect of compensation in heaven to the overcrowded victims of bad drains and foul water on earth. While Broad Churchmen set their faces against religious intolerance, Protestant or Catholic, they could not fail to observe that, in 1854 at all events, the Church of Rome was enlarging her demands upon the faithful. Pius the Ninth protected by French bayonets was a very different man from Pius the Ninth the popular Pope. His temporal power, and the vast authority which he exercised independently of it, were not enough for him. He added a new article of faith, the Immaculate Con-

ception of the Virgin. With these mysteries the secular historian is not directly concerned. It is sufficient for him to point out that the arbitary addition of dogmas strengthens the cause of those who do not rely upon dogmas at all. There are Broad Churchmen even in the communion of Rome, and Liberal Catholics, in England as elsewhere, looked with distrust upon the encroaching policy of the Vatican. Rome made English converts by the Ecclesiastical Titles Act and the Gorham judgment. She made none by the Immaculate Conception.

1853-56.

The dogma of the Immaculate Conception.

Another of the enterprises undertaken by the Church of Rome in 1854 deserved a better fate. No country in Europe, not even Spain, was more faithful to Rome than Ireland. Poor as the Irish people are, they have never failed to pay their tribute of Peter's pence, and the Irish priest enjoys a respect not paid to the highest functionaries of State. But the Irish Catholics, five-sixths of the population, had no University to which they could resort. The ancient and splendid foundation of Trinity College, Dublin, still reserved its honours and emoluments for the Church of the minority. The most illustrious of English converts to Catholicism was in 1854 appointed Rector of a new Catholic University in the Irish capital. Dr. Newman has explained in one of his classical essays how he came to undertake this duty, and why he temporarily left for it his calm retreat in the Oratory of Birmingham. But his zeal and self-sacrifice were unavailing. The lamp went out for want of oil. In other words, there were not sufficient funds to keep the University going. The Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street, founded by Maurice in conjunction with James Ludlow and Thomas Hughes, at the time of his dismissal from King's College, has been far more prosperous. Though supported by voluntary con-

The Irish Catholic University.

The Working Men's College.

1853-56. tributions, they have never failed it, and it has remained a centre of free intellectual cultivation, a triumph of the Maurician school. At Oxford, more familiar with theological controversy than Cambridge, the most prominent member of the Broad Church was the Reverend Benjamin Jowett, Fellow and Tutor of Balliol, appointed by Lord Palmerston in 1855 to be Regius Professor of Greek in the University of Oxford, where the Regius Professor of Hebrew was Dr. Pusey. Although Mr. Jowett's Professorship gave him a status in the University, his influence was chiefly exercised within the walls of his own College. He practised the Socratic method of probing presumptuous ignorance by questions, and no teacher of his time did more to stimulate the intellects of his pupils, or to fit them for the business of life. He was an excellent preacher, a master of English, and a diligent student of the greatest philosopher who ever existed in the world. Mr. Jowett cared more for Plato than for St. Paul, and his Pauline volumes are now chiefly valued for the interesting Essay on Casuistry which they contain. But of the Liberal reaction against Tractarianism he was in Oxford the head. He had no sympathy with clergymen as such, and yet his sermons were the chief instrument for the dissemination of his views. He endeavoured, after the approved method of the Broad Church, to disentangle from theology and metaphysics the simplicity that is in Christ.

Benjamin Jowett.

Edward Bouverie Pusey.

The great opponent of theological Liberalism in Oxford was Dr. Pusey, though of course his influence extended far beyond the limits of his University. To political Liberalism, so long as it did not touch the Church, Pusey, an hereditary Whig, was by no means antipathetic. But of rigid orthodoxy in religion he was the staunch and unswerving champion. He had long outgrown

the German neology of his youth, and stood forth as the Anglican Athanasius, equally prepared to deal with the divagations of the Broad and the deficiencies of the Low. The attempt of Bishop Wilberforce, a High Churchman less logical and thoroughgoing than himself, to muzzle him, only succeeded for a short time, and increased instead of diminishing his power. Though he had felt it right to obey the "godly monition" of his Diocesan, and to cease preaching for two years,[1] Pusey was perfectly fearless, and cared nothing for promotion. He was a Canon of Christ Church and Professor of Hebrew for half a century, yet no one ever called him Professor or Canon. His name was enough. He founded a school, and though the Puseyites were so named by their enemies, they were proud of their chief. Most of them, no doubt, were clergymen, and that is the rock upon which the leaders of the High Church split. They forgot the laity. Nevertheless there were notable exceptions, and among the lay Puseyites was an illustrious statesman who became four times Prime Minister of England. The source of Pusey's influence is not obvious. He had no brilliant or showy accomplishments. His learning, though sound, was not deep, and to eloquence he made no pretence. The style of his sermons, if they could be said to have one, was dry and dogmatic. He never shrank from the mention of repulsive subjects, or from the inculcation of unpalatable doctrines. He was as unlike the ordinary idea of a popular preacher as could well be. Yet he commanded and riveted the attention of his hearers by the sheer force of earnestness and intensity. He held his creed so firmly, he proclaimed it so confidently, that his disciples forgot to ask whether it was founded upon reason. He did not argue. He preached. He spoke as one having 1853–56.

[1] From 1850 to 1852.

1853–56. authority, if one may say so without being profane. His own position was far from being unassailable. The Pope called him his church bell, and it is probable that he made unintentionally many converts to Rome. Yet it is certain that he was an honest man, and that he himself never seriously contemplated secession from the Church of England. Like Keble, though with more leaning towards the visible unity of Christendom, he believed that the Reformation was a mere temporary incident, which did not affect the historical continuity of the Church. The Oxford Movement, of which he, and not Newman, was the chief founder, succeeded on its clerical side. It reformed the ritual of the Church. It introduced week day services. It banished the black gown from the pulpit. The communion table became the altar, the communion the sacrament, the minister the priest. The immense majority of the clergy were with Dr. Pusey long before he died. But outside the clerical profession he carried very little weight. Most English laymen are staunch Protestants, and Pusey regarded Protestantism with undisguised abhorrence. He was an ardent advocate of confession and of penance, practices alien to British habits and irritating to British temper. There was much in Pusey's sermons which average Philistines call unmanly, and perhaps the epithet is not altogether inappropriate. The Oxford Movement did a great deal for the Church of England, and it undoubtedly raised the moral, if not the intellectual, standard of the clergy. But it tended to separate them from the laity by making them into a caste, and as the clergy became higher, the laity became broader.

Theological orthodoxy is not confined to the Church of England, or to the Church of Rome. In 1853 a remarkable man, a Baptist Minister, began to preach in London. His name was Charles

Haddon Spurgeon, and he speedily drew to himself a vast congregation. In many respects, he was the precise opposite of Dr. Pusey. He had no learning and little education. He believed, or talked as if he believed, that the Bible was verbally inspired in the English tongue. In doctrine he was a rigid Calvinist, and he felt for the Church of England, with her mitred Prelates, far more aversion than Pusey felt for the Church of Rome. But with some gifts of nature he was lavishly endowed. He had a voice which could be heard not only in every corner of the largest building, but by tens of thousands in the open air. His eloquence, though it impressed every one who heard it, as all genuine eloquence must, was peculiarly adapted to the class of men and women that filled the Music Hall of the Surrey Gardens, where he preached. It abounded in biblical phraseology, in a vigorous vernacular not unworthy of Bunyan, and in a racy humour which a more fastidious audience would have considered inappropriate to sacred things. Spurgeon's taste might be impugned. He would probably not have cared to defend it. That he was ever deliberately blasphemous is incredible, for he was a devout and pious man. He was also a most courageous one. His congregation was chiefly composed of shopkeepers, and there was nothing he denounced with more severity than tricks of the trade. It moved his contempt and loathing, he said, that men should think they could sneak into heaven through the mercies of Christ, while they cheated their fellow-creatures on earth. Spurgeon was quite as orthodox as Pusey, he was as much opposed to Latitudinarianism, and he clung with equal tenacity to a literal belief in the flames of hell. That they would have excommunicated each other is possible. But they would have agreed upon the dangerous and downward tendency of Jowett's *Commentaries* and

1853–56. Charles Haddon Spurgeon.

1853–56. Maurice's *Essays*. Even in his own community, however, naturally proud of him as it was, Spurgeon's views did not meet with universal acceptance. He was a survival from an uninquiring age, and the progress of education left him behind. When Baptists could go to Balliol, what Spurgeon called primitive Christianity was destined to become as obsolete as the more open worship of the devil.

Church and dissent. An Established Church by its connection with the State affords some guarantee for intellectual freedom. But what, it may be asked, is an Established Church? In Russia, and in Spain, open dissent from the religion of the Government was visited with pains and penalties. In England Nonconformists were not only unmolested, but eligible for the House of Commons, for the Cabinet, for the Judicial Bench, for the House of Lords. There was nothing to prevent a Nonconformist from sitting on the Woolsack, and keeping the conscience of the Queen. The most conspicuous signs of the Establishment were the presence of Bishops in Parliament, tithes, and church rates. Tithes had been in most cases commuted into a permanent charge upon the land. Church rates were levied upon the occupier at irregular intervals as they were required. But the spirit of resistance to them was growing, and in 1853 the Dissenters won an important victory. At the parish of Braintree in Essex there were many

The Braintree case. Nonconformist parishioners, and no church rate had been levied there since the year 1834. The church was falling into disrepair, and at last, after fifteen years, on the 15th of July 1849, a vestry meeting was held to consider of a rate. The vicar, the Reverend Bernard Scale, took the chair, and the church-wardens proposed a church rate of two shillings in the pound. To this a long and argumentative amendment, condemning the principle of taxing the public for the benefit of one religious

body, was moved by Samuel Courtauld, a parishioner, and carried by a large majority. The chairman announced the result with perfect fairness. But the church-wardens proceeded to levy the rate in the name of the minority, and then began a legal battle which lasted longer than the Crimean War. A farmer named Gosling refused to pay, and application was made to the ecclesiastical tribunals for compulsory powers. Dr. Lushington, the Judge of the Consistory Court, dismissed the case, and held that the rate was bad. Sir Herbert Jenner-Fust, the Dean of the Arches, reversed Dr. Lushington's decision, and held that the rate was good. At this point Mr. Gosling's lawyers invoked the secular arm, and called upon the Court of Queen's Bench to prohibit the Court of Arches from enforcing its judgment. The Court of Queen's Bench unanimously decided that the proceedings were perfectly regular, and that there was no ground for their interference. An appeal to the Exchequer Chamber produced the same result, except that the Court was divided, the minority containing the distinguished names of Wilde, Rolfe, and Parke. Then, in February 1851, the case came before the House of Lords. By this time the attention of the whole country had been excited, and the struggle was watched with eager interest. But there was still a long delay. The Peers present were Lord Chancellor Truro, Lord Brougham, and Lord Campbell. After hearing the arguments they summoned the Judges, and desired their written answer to several questions of law. It was not till the 12th of August 1853 that the final judgment was delivered, and the rate was pronounced to be bad. Lord Truro, who delivered it, was no longer Chancellor.[1] Lord St. 1853–56.

[1] As Chief Justice Wilde he had been one of the dissentient minority in the Court of Exchequer Chamber, and he now reversed those who had overruled him.

1853-56. Leonards had come in and gone out since the case was argued, and Lord Cranworth sat upon the Woolsack. But as he had not heard counsel at the Bar, he refrained from giving an opinion. Nobody else said anything, though it was intimated that Lord Truro's judgment had the concurrence of Lord Brougham. The gist of it may be thus stated. It was the duty of the parishioners to repair the fabric of the parish church, and if they neglected that duty, they might be punished. But a valid church rate could only be made by a majority of the parishioners in vestry assembled; and if the majority should refuse to make a rate for the purpose of discharging this duty, such refusal would not entitle the minority to make it.[1] Lord Truro's reasoning is as clear as crystal, and the practical conclusion was that if in any parish there were a majority opposed to church rates, no church rate could be levied. For even if it were possible to put the majority under the greater excommunication, or the parish pump, that would not levy the rate, nor raise the money. Henry Drummond, a zealous churchman, though an Irvingite, wrote to John Wilson Croker after this decision that it was all up with the Church of England.[2] That was not quite so. Church rates survived the Braintree case, and the Church of England survived church rates. But the Dissenters had won a logical victory. The principle of congregationalism was introduced into the Establishment, and church rates, though they lasted fifteen years longer, were doomed. Nonconformists were legally entitled to vote at a vestry on the same footing as churchmen, and therefore they might anywhere be in a position to determine whether there should be a church rate or not. Every Judge, and every Law Lord, held that the

[1] *Veley* v. *Gosling*. 4 House of Lord Cases, pp. 679–814.
[2] *Croker Papers*, vol. iii. p. 271.

amendment carried in the Braintree vestry was irregular, and *ultra vires*. But it had done its work. It amounted to a negative. It was an insurmountable barrier between the church-wardens of Braintree and the goods of Gosling. This decision did not slacken the movement against church rates. The Dissenters continued to protest against them, whether imposed by the majority or not. Indeed they were better able to protest than before. They had got behind the outworks, and into the citadel. The fight could in future be carried on not merely in the House of Commons, but in every vestry throughout England. For if it required a national majority to pass a Bill repealing all church rates, it also required a local majority to levy any church rate at all. 1853–56.

The Braintree case must be regarded as a victory for Liberalism within the Church, because it weakened an instrument of oppression and offence. The publication in 1854 of Milman's *Latin Christianity* was an example of wide and Liberal culture in a high dignitary of the Establishment. The accomplished Dean of St. Paul's, who was a poet as well as an historian, and composed some of the best hymns in the language, wrote upon ecclesiastical matters as a scholar with entire freedom from professional prejudice. Milman had neither the genius, the wit, nor the malice of Gibbon. But from that greatest of all historic writers, whom he diligently studied, he had acquired a philosophic breadth of view not less important than accuracy of detail in a history which aims at being more than a dry chronicle of statistics and events. Milman's *Latin Christianity*.

The Society of the Holy Cross, which was founded in 1855 to represent the principles of Anglo-Catholicism in England, was really an offshoot of the Oxford Movement, and a Puseyite manifesto. But in the world at large, the world Philosophic speculation.

1853–56. outside cliques and coteries, Catholic or Protestant, the progress of free inquiry was making for the increase of tolerance which comes with the growth of knowledge. It was an age of philosophical speculation rather than of scientific discovery.

Ferrier. Ferrier's *Institutes of Metaphysic*, the work of a brilliant young Scotsman cut off in his prime, expressed with simple clearness and a style of singular beauty the doctrines of Platonic idealism.

Bain. Another author from the more philosophical side of the Tweed, Alexander Bain, expounded in *The Senses and the Intellect* the materialist conception of psychology as it appeared to a disciple of Locke.

Spencer. Herbert Spencer, pursuing his original researches with the patience of true genius, developed the theory of evolution in his *Principles of Psychology*.

Cornewall Lewis. Cornewall Lewis, before he was called from the editorial chair to the receipt of custom,[1] published his famous attack upon the credibility of what passed for the early history of Rome, and showed how full of fables is the first decade of Livy. In the opinion of this great scholar, all the greater because he was acquainted with practical business and public affairs, the lapse of a century obliterated the value even of traditional evidence, which necessarily ranks below evidence at first hand. It is not only to the history of Rome that this sceptical theory applies, and the importance of the book was wider than its subject denoted. Theological controversy, however interesting it may be made by the power and resources of the disputants, seldom leads to any tangible result. But the historical method cannot be ignored. It removes landmarks and touches foundations. Sir George Lewis had one of those rare minds which pursue truth and truth alone. For consequences he cared nothing at all. He was so far an iconoclast that he could not bear to see

[1] He had succeeded Macvey Napier as editor of the *Edinburgh Review*.

people accepting conclusions from false premises. 1853-56.
He had an instinct to save them, as if they were drowning, even though they did not in the least want to be saved. He brought everything to the test of reason, and it fretted him that a man like Niebuhr should claim an intuitive knowledge of the past. He took nothing for granted, and used to say that the question of free will would never be settled until it had been argued before four Judges sitting in banc.[1] He never himself wrote upon the subject of the Gospels, and if others applied his theories to sacred themes, that was no business of his. He embodied the spirit of revolt against tradition, stimulated as it was by the misplaced efforts of men who had "a fumbling dread of the human reason."

The practice of treating all questions as open was adopted by a new weekly paper, of which the first number appeared in 1855. The *Saturday Review*, of which Mr. Douglas Cook was the first editor, rose, like a Phœnix, from the ashes of the *Morning Chronicle*, a Peelite organ, which, though conducted with great ability, had been a financial failure. Starting under the most brilliant auspices, the *Saturday Review* achieved immediate success. The list of its contributors included the ablest young men of the day. Among them were William Vernon Harcourt, Charles Bowen, Edward Augustus Freeman, John Richard Green, James Fitzjames Stephen and his brother Leslie, Lord Robert Cecil, Lord Strangford the philologist, and Stopford Brooke. The *Saturday Review* afterwards passed into other hands, and acquired different habits. In 1855, and for many years afterwards, it was essentially eclectic, holding, so to speak, opinions of its own, and looking down upon all parties, as upon all statesmen, from the superior level of the higher

The *Saturday Review*.

[1] There would be a better chance with three.

1853-56. criticism. It took among weekly journals the position which the *Times* then occupied in the daily press. The public wanted to know, partly because they did not know beforehand, what the *Times* and the *Saturday Review* would say upon the topics of the moment. Nothing like the old *Saturday Review* now exists in England. Either journalism has become less attractive, or political opinion has become more sharply divided, or the public taste has decayed. The Palmerstonian era was well suited to ironical writing, which regarded enthusiasm as anathema. It was an age of practical politics, and whatever might be uncertain about practical politics, it was certain that they had nothing to do with morality or religion. "Our Septuagenarian Premier" had no nonsense of that kind about him. Lord Palmerston did not live to be called a Philistine by the apostle of sweetness and light. But though he missed the name, he was the incarnation of the thing. The *Saturday Review* represented the most highly cultivated form which Philistinism has ever assumed. The men who wrote it were masters of English; they never used "journalese," and they thoroughly understood the subjects with which they dealt. In their horror of sensationalism they fell into the opposite extreme. For fear of implying that anything mattered too much they suggested that nothing mattered at all. Nevertheless they filled a place which has not been supplied. They were a band of purely intellectual critics, fearless, disinterested, learned, and acute. Many of them rose to high distinction, and almost all of them deserved it. They scorned low arts, and offered the subscriber or the purchaser nothing but good value for his money. The man who paid his sixpence for the *Saturday Review* in the year 1855 knew that he would find no ignorant blunders, no slovenly

writing, no illogical arguments, no attempt to make the worse appear the better reason for the sake of a party or a leader. The foundation of such a paper was an event of real importance in the history of England. The idea of the *Saturday Review* was perhaps suggested by Thackeray's *Pall Mall Gazette*, described in *Pendennis* and *The Newcomes*. *The Newcomes*, only less wonderful than *Vanity Fair* and *Esmond*, because it contains no Becky Sharp, and no Beatrix, was itself an unconscious satire on conventional customs, especially the position of women, such as Ethel Newcome, who in those days were shut out even from the chance of being decently taught. Genius can dispense with education, though rank, as Lord Aberdeen observed, cannot.[1] The higher culture did not penetrate to the remote Yorkshire parsonage where, in 1855, died the last and most gifted of three singularly gifted sisters, the author of *Jane Eyre*, *Shirley*, *Villette*, and *The Professor*. The fiery soul of Charlotte Brontë owed little to art or training. No books belong less than hers to the particular time at which they were composed. Like Charles Dickens, Charlotte Brontë condemned to eternal infamy an abominable school in Yorkshire, and Villette, as every one knows, is Brussels. But whether she was sketching with indelible ink pictures of strong-featured, hard-headed dalesmen in the West Riding, or conferring unenviable immortality upon her father's curates, she instinctively discarded the accidents of place and time. Though in humour, in knowledge, in experience of the world, Thackeray was immensely her superior, she belongs less to an age than he. Deeply as she loved her Yorkshire moors and the rough speech of her neighbours, it is the elemental passions of humanity with which her novels are concerned. Her style owes nothing

1853-56.

The Newcomes.

Death of Charlotte Brontë.

[1] Lord Stanmore's *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, p. 7.

1853–56. to any book, except, perhaps, the Bible. Her main characters, though this or that trait in them may have been drawn from life, are essentially the coinage of her own brain. In sheer power of imagination her sister Emily may be thought to have excelled her, for Emily was a great poet as well as a great novelist. But in the construction of a story Emily had not attained to anything like Charlotte's skill. With the death of Charlotte the portent vanished. The mighty sisters had no predecessors, and left no successors. From darkness they came, and into darkness they returned. No explanation of them has been, or can be, given. There is a mystery of genius as well as a mystery of iniquity. Its source and origin are not human, but divine.

Miss Yonge. More popular than any of the Brontës was Charlotte Mary Yonge, to whom genius cannot be attributed. But Miss Yonge, whose first novel, *The Heir of Redclyffe*, appeared in 1853, was a born story-teller, a pleasant writer, and a devoted churchwoman. Her idol was John Keble, and in spreading the doctrines of the Anglican School by means of fiction, she spent the greater part of her long life. Her influence in that direction was far greater than any clergyman, except the gifted and saintly author of *The Christian Year*, could wield. For while many people have sneered at Miss Yonge, few have written better religious novels, and religious novels are read by thousands who neither listen to sermons nor read them.

CHAPTER IV

AFTER THE WAR

BEFORE the Treaty of Paris was signed, Lord Palmerston had heedlessly involved himself in a quarrel with the House of Lords, where they were entirely in the right, and he was altogether in the wrong. It arose out of an announcement in the *Gazette* that Sir James Parke, a Baron of the Exchequer, and a Privy Councillor, had been created a Peer for life without any mention of his heirs. The motive for Baron Parke's elevation was innocent and laudable. The highest Court of Appeal in the United Kingdom was, and had been for centuries, the House of Lords. Every Peer had the same right of attending and voting upon legal as upon political questions. But in practice this right was obsolete. The last attempt to exercise it had been made in 1844, when a writ of error was brought against the conviction of Daniel O'Connell from the Court of Queen's Bench in Ireland. On that occasion the lay Peers were induced by Lord Brougham to leave the House without voting, and thus they tacitly, but finally, abandoned their privilege. Appeals from the inferior Courts were thenceforward, as indeed they had long been, left to the Law Lords, or, in other words, to the Lord Chancellor and his surviving predecessors in office. Of these in 1856 there were three. But Lord Lyndhurst, though he

1856.

Baron Parke's Peerage.

The Law Lords.

1856. still amused himself with politics, had ceased to trouble himself about law, and Lord Brougham, never a high legal authority, had a natural tendency to diffusiveness, which developed with advancing years. There remained the Chancellor himself, then Lord Cranworth, and Lord St. Leonards. Two better lawyers did not exist, and they commanded the absolute confidence of the legal profession. But even if they had constituted a quorum of the House, which was three, and even if they had not differed, as they constantly did, it was hardly fitting that they should reverse decisions of eight or ten Judges below. The Braintree case was not in this respect a desirable precedent to follow. Nothing could, in the circumstances, have been more natural than to confer a Peerage upon Mr. Baron Parke, in order that he might assist in the hearing of appeals. For though Lord Campbell occasionally sat in the House of Lords, he could not do so without inconvenience to the Court of Queen's Bench, over which, as Chief Justice, he presided. Except the Lord Chancellor, no Peer was bound to attend at all, and those who had occupied the Woolsack were entitled to draw their ample pensions without rendering any service in return. The mistake the Government made was in departing from immemorial custom, and advising the Queen to issue a patent the like of which had not been seen for four hundred years. The blunder was the less excusable because Baron Parke had no son, and his honours would in any case die with him. That the Court of Final Appeal should consist nominally of four hundred laymen, and practically of two lawyers, only one of whom was bound to attend, might be irregular, and even grotesque. But the remedy was to be found in an Act of Parliament, and not in an abuse of the preroga-

tive. Baron Parke's Life Peerage is interesting because it precisely illustrates the distinction between the legal and the constitutional. Legal it certainly was, because the Sovereign, as the fountain of honour, can confer any title upon any subject. Constitutional it as certainly was not, because it purported to alter the essential nature of a lay, as distinguished from a spiritual, Peerage. A Parliamentary Opposition would fail in their duty if they did not criticise such arbitrary conduct on the part of the executive, and Lord Derby was just the man to make the most of the case. He was jealous of any encroachment upon the rights of his order, and he had on his side every lawyer in the House except the Lord Chancellor himself. That Lord Cranworth, a man of the world as well as a man of learning, should have got his colleagues into such a scrape is indeed surprising. A prerogative which has been in abeyance for four centuries is a rusty weapon with which to fight, and the Chancellor might have remembered that the House of Lords had also their old blunderbuss. They could, and they did, pass a resolution that Baron Parke, not having been raised to the Peerage in the customary manner, was incapable of sitting and voting in the House. What would happen if the Lords attempted to exclude a Peer whose creation or succession was unimpeachable it is difficult to say. The Constitution does not contemplate outrages upon itself. But when it appeared that even before the battle of Bosworth a Peerage for life was conferred either *consensu procerum*, by consent of the Lords, or *consensu procerum et communitatis*, by Act of Parliament, feebler instruments than the fiery eloquence of Lord Derby and the stately eloquence of Lord Lyndhurst would have convinced a Conservative and aristocratic assembly that the

1856.

Lord Derby's action.

The resolution of the Lords.

1856. innovation was unwarrantable.[1] The best course for the Government after their defeat in the Lords was to make Baron Parke a Peer in the ordinary way. Everything which tact and judgment could do for them had been done, for the Leader of the House was Lord Granville, then just entering upon his long career of successful suavity. But they were obstinate, and introduced an Appellate Jurisdiction Bill to make life Peerages legal. If they had taken this step at first, they might have anticipated by twenty years a useful and necessary reform. The occasion they chose was the worst possible, and they were defeated again, this time in the House of Commons.[2] Then, and not till then, they came to their senses, and Baron Parke, who had much reason to complain of his treatment, not by the Lords, but by the Cabinet, took his seat as Lord Wensleydale, with remainder to non-existent heirs. His great eminence as a lawyer was beyond dispute, and in the House of Lords he had little to do with those points of mere pleading on which the powers of his intellect had too often been squandered.

Although the session of 1856, apart from the debates on the Peace, and on the Declaration of Paris, was rather a tame one, it was not without incidents which deserve to be remembered. The peculiar atrocity of the crimes charged against William Palmer, the Rugeley poisoner, afterwards executed for the murder of Cook, had excited such horror in the county of Stafford, that

Palmer's Act.

[1] Prince Albert was credited by many people, by Lord Derby among others, with having suggested this unfortunate proposal. But he had nothing to do with it. The real author, as Greville shows (10th September 1857), was Lord Cranworth, who found great inconvenience from himself and Lord St. Leonards sitting together in the House of Lords, where "St. Leonards invariably opposed his view of every case."

[2] The destructive weapon employed was the familiar one of reference to a Select Committee. The wielder was Mr. Raikes Currie.

it was deemed impossible to procure for him a fair trial at the Assizes. A Bill was accordingly passed which provided in general terms that the Court of Queen's Bench might remove any prosecution from the Circuit to the Central Criminal Court. Under this Act, known as Palmer's Act, Palmer was convicted at the Old Bailey, and by avoiding the danger of local prejudice, it has proved a very useful piece of legislation.[1] Early in the session Lord Stanhope, the distinguished historian and future biographer of Pitt, carried in the House an Address to the Crown, which has had consequences even more valuable than his candid and impartial books. He proposed the establishment of a National Portrait Gallery, and it was established by a Treasury Warrant on the 2nd of December. Macaulay having retired from Parliament on account of his health and his occupation, there was no one in either House so well qualified to take the lead in this enterprise as Lord Stanhope, unless indeed it were the Minister responsible for the Warrant, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, Sir George Cornewall Lewis. Another scheme, propounded almost exactly at the same time in the House of Commons, though not equally fortunate, was the precursor of greater and wider results in the future. Lord John Russell set himself to restore his injured fame in a most honourable way by taking up the cause of national education. All his resolutions were either defeated or withdrawn, and it cannot be said that their author showed much pertinacity in pressing them. But the reason of their unpopularity was that public opinion had not yet ripened to the point of appreciating them. He had the courage to suggest that where the supply of education was deficient, a

1856.

The National Portrait Gallery.

March 6.

Lord John's educational proposals.

[1] It is said that the inhabitants of Rugeley were anxious to find a new name for their borough, and that Lord Derby suggested Palmerston.

1856. local rate should be levied to increase it, and that a school committee should be elected by the ratepayers to appoint the masters and to manage the schools. He went further. With remarkable foresight he sought to overcome the "religious difficulty" by means, first, of unsectarian teaching from the Bible, and, secondly, of a conscience clause. Nor did his original propositions, afterwards modified and reduced, stop there. They would have compelled all employers of children between the ages of twelve and fifteen to produce certificates of their attendance at school, and to pay for their instruction. If a Bill had been passed in accordance with these principles, incalculable benefit to the country would have been the result. But the Opposition were hostile, the Government were lukewarm, and there was no driving power behind Lord John. Many Radicals still objected to any interference with education by the State, and though Sir John Pakington manfully supported the resolution, most Conservatives, as well as some Peelites, were jealous of any encroachment upon the educational monopoly of the Church. So the Legislature continued to acquiesce supinely in a system, if system it could be called, under which only half the children in England were at school, and only a quarter of that half, or one-eighth in all, were at schools liable to inspection. The majority against what is now regarded as the first duty of the State was 158. This indifference to educational progress was accompanied by a fierce outburst of fanatical Sabbatarianism. As no one contends that the whole of Sunday, miscalled the Sabbath, should be spent in church, it might be thought that listening to music, "the utterance of divine harmony in the region of created sound," was not the least religious method of filling up the intervals. But

The Sunday bands in the parks.

when Sir Benjamin Hall, the First Commissioner of Works, arranged that bands should play in the London parks on Sunday, the Sabbatarians vehemently protested against this desecration of the Jewish, not the Christian, law; and when Lord Palmerston expressed in the House of Commons his approval of the innocent practice, he was threatened with a vote of censure, which his Whips assured him would be carried. Then the Government gave way, and in ostensible deference to a remonstrance from the Archbishop of Canterbury,[1] they yielded to the clamour of ignorant prejudice by forbidding the bands. 1856. May 16.

Strange are the destinies of mortals, and the vicissitudes of things. When, on the 29th of April, it was announced that the Queen's eldest child, the Princess Royal, had engaged herself to Prince Frederick William of Prussia, the leading journal, an admirable exponent of ephemeral opinion, scornfully censured the misalliance. Little of course was known about the young Prince in England, and his simple, knightly character was long in attaining its full development. The union was in fact, as so few royal marriages are, one of mutual affection alone. But the Prince's father was heir presumptive to the throne of Prussia, with the practical certainty of succession either for himself or for his son, and Prussia was one of the great Powers. It so happened, however, that Prussia was almost as much detested in England at that moment as Russia herself. The vacillating policy of the King, whose mind, never strong, then tottered to decay, affected the popular estimate of his brother and his nephew, although they did not resemble him in the slightest degree. There is no better evidence of Prince Albert's political acumen than his constant and unshaken belief in German The Princess Royal's engagement.

[1] Dr. Sumner.

1856. unity under Prussian supremacy. Yet even he in his most enthusiastic moments could not imagine that the soldierly father of the young man to whom he was giving his daughter in marriage would within fifteen years be proclaimed German Emperor in the Palace of Versailles.

May 19. The cost of the war. In proposing his Budget, the Chancellor of the Exchequer estimated the total cost of the war at seventy-seven millions. Although the income tax stood at one and fourpence in the pound, he was unable to reduce it. After cutting down the Army and Navy estimates by seventeen millions, he had a deficit of nearly seven millions sterling, which he met by borrowing, and the taxes remained as they were. Mr. Disraeli urged retrenchment, which was the settled policy of the Conservative Opposition at that time. But he was accused, rightly or wrongly, of collusion with the Manchester School; he was turned into ridicule by *Punch*, along with Bright and Cobden, as a "Russian"; and at no period of his career did he carry less weight outside the House of Commons. There he was always a power, and he must have smiled, as a supporter, though an intermittent supporter, of the Jew Bill, when the war loan was taken up by the Rothschilds, whom the wisdom of the House of Lords pronounced unworthy to sit in the House of Commons. The same patrician sagacity, acting through Lord Lyndhurst, prevented the Cambridge University Reform Bill of 1856 from going a step further than the Oxford Bill of 1854, and admitting Dissenters to a share in the government of the University. Lord Lyndhurst, like Lord Sandwich,[1] was High Steward of Cambridge, and, like Lord Eldon, a buttress of the Church. The final and complete abolition of religious, or rather theological, tests in both Universities was reserved for a statesman not

Cambridge reform.

[1] "Jemmy Twitcher," the friend of Wilkes.

then suspected of any tendency to academic liberalism. Two other changes of a salutary kind were made in the sphere of practical legislation before Parliament was prorogued. A Minister of Education, popularly, though not quite accurately, called the Vice-President of the Council,[1] was created by statute, and the first step was taken towards making it easy for Bishops to resign. The Bishop of London, Dr. Blomfield, and the Bishop of Durham, Dr. Maltby, both anxious to give up their Sees on account of advanced age and failing health, were not then entitled to pensions, and terms had to be made. They were liberal terms, being six thousand a year for Bishop Blomfield, and four thousand five hundred a year for Bishop Maltby. There was a good deal of opposition to the Bill, and the Bishop of Oxford oddly denounced it as Simoniacal. If two clergymen had offered to purchase the Bishoprics, as commissions were then purchased in the army, there would have been more point in the abusive Scriptural epithet. That Parliament made a bargain with these Prelates cannot in strictness be denied, though the sums which they received were fixed by themselves. But they had to be bought out, and their pensions did not exceed that third part of their revenues which is now the regular proportion of a Bishop's retiring allowance. The new Bishop of Durham was Dr. Longley of Ripon, afterwards Primate both of York and of Canterbury. The new Bishop of London was Dr. Tait, who had been successively Tutor of Balliol, Headmaster of Rugby, and Dean of Carlisle. He was by far the ablest man whom Lord Palmerston raised to the Bench, and he immediately established for himself a position in the House of Lords, which he never lost till the day of his death.

1856.

The resignation of Bishops.

[1] His full official title was Vice-President of the Committee of Council on Education.

1856. On the 7th of July, two days before the return of the Guards, the Queen held a review at Aldershot, and graciously expressed her royal approbation of her gallant soldiers, always successful when skilfully led, against the most overwhelming odds. Lord Hardinge, the Commander-in-Chief, while in actual conversation with Her Majesty was struck down by paralysis, and though he lived to the following September, he was constrained to resign his office without delay. Lord Palmerston, in the name of the entire Cabinet, recommended that this loyal and chivalrous soldier, the intimate friend both of Wellington and of Peel, should be succeeded by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge, then in his thirty-eighth year. The choice was in accordance with public expectation, and met with the approval of the service. It was held desirable to connect the Royal Family with the Army, and no other Prince of the Blood held at that time the Queen's Commission. It was not unreasonably thought that the exalted and peculiar rank of His Royal Highness, while it preserved him from professional jealousy, would shield him against the temptations of personal prejudice, and of social influence. He was no holiday soldier, for he had been under fire, and his bluff, hearty, downright manner was much liked by the men. There was, moreover, a singular dearth of eligible candidates. Simpson and Codrington were obviously impossible. Sir George Brown was too old. The administrative capacity of the future Lord Airey had not been fully developed. General Windham had not the requisite standing. There remained Sir Colin Campbell, whom the whole Army would have greeted with enthusiasm. But as he had not been thought fit to command in the Crimea, it would have been difficult to elevate him at once so high. The Duke of Cambridge's ap-

Death of Lord Hardinge.

The new Commander-in-Chief.

pointment was very welcome to the Court, and, 1856.
apart from feelings of personal loyalty, it is the natural desire of all Governments to stand well with the Sovereign. All these reasons may be urged in defence of Lord Palmerston and his colleagues. But there was another side to the question, and one which ought not to have been overlooked. The appointment was by patent, and for life. The Commander-in-Chief held independent authority, and within the scope of his own special functions, within the Horse Guards as distinguished from the War Office, was responsible not to the Secretary of State, but to the Crown. The Duke justified the choice of the Cabinet by assiduous attention to the duties of his post, and when changes were forced upon him by Parliament he accepted them loyally in the letter, if not in the spirit. But for nearly forty years he was a resolute opponent of army reform, devoted to the old aristocratic system, the system of purchase and patronage which trained good regimental officers and left them with their regiments, while it produced such Generals as the Earls of Lucan and Cardigan. The Duke of Cambridge suffered from suppressed Toryism. He held honestly and sincerely the political creed of his grandfather George the Third. But he was debarred by a custom hardly, if at all, older than himself from expressing his opinion fully and frankly in the House of Lords. His proximity to the Throne prevented him, even before he was Commander-in-Chief, from openly joining a political party, and his natural Conservatism acquired, as is often the case, an unnatural intensity from being deprived of its legitimate outlet. These considerations, however, were not brought forward in 1856, and Lord Palmerston was entitled to claim that he had satisfied the nation as well as the Queen.

1856.

The Foreign Enlistment Act and the United States.

Indeed a question vitally affecting the future of our military system excited in 1856 far less interest than a miserable dispute with the United States over the working of the Foreign Enlistment Act. That unfortunate measure was applied by the diplomatic authorities of Great Britain in America with more zeal than discretion. The result was equally startling and unpleasant. Mr. Crampton, the British Minister at Washington, was suddenly presented with his passports, while the exsequaturs of the British Consuls at New York, Philadelphia, and Cincinnati were simultaneously withdrawn. Subsequent experience has shown that England and the United States may safely take liberties with each other which between either of them and any foreign country would lead to war. But the dismissal of the British Minister was deemed to be a very serious matter, and inspired grave feelings of alarm, especially as Lord Clarendon had refused to withdraw Mr. Crampton when requested to do so by Mr. Marcy, the American Secretary of State. After Mr. Crampton's departure from Washington, and before his arrival in England, Charles Greville had a conversation with Thackeray, newly returned from his lecturing tour in the United States. The great novelist was full of the most gloomy forebodings. He said "he had never met with a single man who was not persuaded that they were entirely in the right and we in the wrong, and they are equally persuaded that if war ensues, they will give us a great thrashing; they don't care for the consequences, their riches are immense, and two hundred thousand men would appear in arms at a moment's notice." [1] But Lord Palmerston had no desire for a quarrel, and he displayed on this occasion a most unusual forbearance. When, a fortnight after Mr. Crampton's return, the matter,

Thackeray's view.

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 1st June 1856.

which had really been smouldering for years, came at length before the House of Commons, the language of Ministers was extremely pacific. The Premier had already intimated that Mr. Dallas, the American Minister in London, would not be disturbed, and though he formally contended that the enlistments were lawful, being of British subjects alone, his tone was distinctly apologetic. The Leaders of the Opposition, especially Lord Derby, and Sir John Pakington, took the American side. But many of their followers would not support them in the division lobby, and Palmerston had a majority of 194. The technical case for the Minister and the Consuls was that they had enlisted only British subjects in the United States, and American citizens only in Canada, where the municipal law of the United States did not prevail. But evidence was produced which could not be squared with this plea, and a better answer to America was that when Lord Clarendon's attention was directed to the subject, he had ordered the discontinuance of the enlistments. With the Parliamentary debate the dispute came to an end. Mr. Dallas remained in London. Mr. Crampton did not go back to Washington, and was succeeded after a decent interval by Lord Napier, the most conciliatory of men. 1856.

In his Diary for the 12th of November 1856, Lord Malmesbury says, "At the dinner on the 9th, given as usual to the Prime Minister and his colleagues, the Corps Diplomatique was represented by the Mexican Minister and the one from the Republic of Hayti, a black man. Such is the result, for the second time, of Palmerston's aggressive policy and offensive communication with foreign Powers." The immediate cause of these sarcastic remarks was the recall of the British Minister from Naples, where the cruelties of King Ferdinand to the members of the Constitutional Opposition

Withdrawal of British and French Ministers from Naples.

1856. shocked and scandalised mankind. But Lord Malmesbury is not quite logical. For the initiative was taken by the French Emperor, who in the month of May instructed Walewski to protest strongly in a despatch against the continuance of political arrests by the incorrigible Bomba. Lord Clarendon followed suit, and as all remonstrances proved futile, the fleets of the two great Western Powers took up a menacing position in the Bay of Naples. These proceedings could be justified, not on strict grounds of international law, but on the broader principle that persistent and barbaric misrule makes the State which indulges in it a public nuisance. For Russia, however, the opportunity was too good to be lost. Prince Gortschakoff, Count Nesselrode's successor, pointed out in a circular despatch to the Chanceries of Europe that England and France were departing from the principle of non-intervention laid down at the Conference of Paris. Nor indeed is it easy to see why, if they could take upon themselves the protection of Neapolitan Liberals against the Government of Naples, the Czar was not equally justified in casting his shield over the Christian subjects of the Porte. Nothing came either of the protest or of the counter-protest. Relying upon Russia, or perhaps upon his own feebleness, and the moral impossibility of bombarding Naples, the Italian Bourbon proved as obstinate as any of his French progenitors. The fear of God could not be put into him, and nothing could be got out of him except a proposal that his victims should be sent to South America, which, as Palmerston drily observed, merely meant that he would be able to replenish his gaols. Russia certainly acted as a most efficient check upon France. From the day the Conference met at Paris, if not before, the French Emperor had set himself to secure Russian

The Russian protest.

friendship, and his attempt was completely successful. The memory of the war, so far as France and Russia were mutually concerned, was wiped out. France had declined to join England in enforcing the Treaty of Paris, and when Lord Granville went to Petersburg in September as the representative of the Queen at the coronation of the Czar, he was received with a coldness the more conspicuous for the warmth of the greeting lavished upon the Count de Morny. The dispute about the two Bolgrads and the new boundary of Bessarabia was still open, and it was at last settled by the Emperor Napoleon, who summoned a second Conference for the purpose at the end of the year. Palmerston characteristically remarked that he should have preferred Petersburg to Paris, as being less Russian than Walewski's house. The line, however, was so drawn as to exclude Russia from the Danube, which, though it did not, directly or indirectly, concern British interests, had been Palmerston's object from the first. But the actual fulfilment on the spot of the stipulations in the Treaty was still for some time delayed.

1856.

England, France, and Russia.

Before the close of this eventful year, England became involved in war with Persia. At the beginning of February Mr. Murray, the British Minister, had left Teheran as a protest against the want of respect with which he had been treated by the Persian Government. Relieved from all visible restraint, the Shah proceeded to besiege Herat, then practically independent of the Ameer, though nominally a part of Afghanistan. This was a distinct breach of the Treaty concluded between Great Britain and Persia in 1853, and the pretext that Dost Mohammed had occupied Candahar was an idle one. It was impossible that the East India Company, or the British Government, should

The Persian War.

1856. regard with indifference the fate of Herat, through which an entrance into their dominions could without difficulty be effected, and Lord Canning, the new Governor-General, was instructed to declare war. The campaign was brief, one-sided, and memorable chiefly because it first brought to public notice the illustrious names of Outram and Havelock. On the 9th of December Fort Reshire was taken, four miles south of Bushire, on the Persian Gulf, and General Stopford was unhappily killed. Next day Bushire itself was bombarded and captured by Admiral Sir Henry Leeke, with no casualties of any kind on the British side. A few weeks later Sir James Outram, Divisional General, with Havelock and Stalker in command of Brigades, arrived at Bushire from Bombay. Within a fortnight of
Feb. 8. their arrival the Persians were defeated at Khooshab, and the war was at an end. Seven hundred Persians were killed, and two of their guns fell into Sir James Outram's hands. After this decisive victory the enemy would fight no more, and when they were attacked at Mohammerah, they fled,
The terms of peace. leaving seventy guns behind them. Peace was signed at Paris, then the workshop of nations, on the 4th of March. The Shah promised to withdraw from Herat, and undertook not to meddle with the internal affairs of Afghanistan. He further agreed to accept Great Britain as arbitrator between the Emperor of Russia and himself in any disputes which might arise, and to receive Mr. Murray again at Teheran with ceremonious honours. Thus ended the Persian War, the expenses of which were equally shared by the East India Company and the Government, that is to say, by the British taxpayer and the people of India. No serious opposition was raised to it in Parliament, though Parliament had never been consulted about it. The case was too strong. For Persia at Herat might

at any moment have been turned into Russia at Herat, and Russia at Herat meant Russia in India. In truth, the action of Persia was due to Russian intrigue, and was thus a direct consequence of the Crimean War. 1856.

CHAPTER V

THE QUESTION OF CHINA

1857. PARLIAMENT met on the 3rd of February 1857 under a clear political sky. Although the Lords had once more refused to the Jews in 1856 the justice which the Commons would have granted them ten years before, and that while the Lord Mayor of London was for the first time in English history a Jew, the Government appeared to be firmly established in their places, and Lord Palmerston was more popular than any Minister had been since the resignation of Sir Robert Peel. In the country during the recess, a movement against the "War Ninepence" had become formidable. But it was also reasonable, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer very properly gave way to it. The Budget was so eagerly expected that Sir George Cornewall Lewis introduced it before the first fortnight of the session had passed, and announced that the payers of income tax would receive the relief they expected. He fixed the future rate at sevenpence instead of one and fourpence, lowering also the duties on tea and sugar. The total reduction of taxation was twelve millions. While Mr. Gladstone assailed this Budget with unmerited acrimony, declaring on the flimsiest grounds that it unsettled the financial policy of fifteen years, it received the independent support of Lord John Russell, a great admirer of Gladstonian finance, and was generally acceptable to the public as well as to

The War Ninepence.

the House. Sir George Lewis was not a brilliant financier. But he was a perfectly sound one, and Mr. Gladstone's pretended demonstration that the surplus was fictitious suffered itself from the fault which it imputed. The Budget, however, and the disappearance of the War Ninepence did not long occupy the attention of the country. Although the world was not then, metaphorically speaking, so small as it is now, events in China were able to upset the balance of parties in the House of Commons. 1857.

The China of 1857 was almost closed to Europeans. At Hong Kong, which was in British occupation, there resided a British Plenipotentiary, whose correct designation was not Minister, but Chief Superintendent of Trade. No European Court was represented at Pekin. By the Treaty of 1842, the Treaty of Nankin, extorted from the Chinese Government after the Opium War of 1840, five ports had been opened to foreign trade, which was principally British. In regard to four of them, the stipulation had been faithfully observed. But the most important of all, Canton, was still jealously guarded against intrusion, and the Emperor's Ministers replied to all demands for the removal of the barrier, as prescribed by the Treaty, that they could not answer for the safety of foreigners in Canton. Successive Governments had acquiesced in that excuse, and more than one Foreign Secretary had addressed counsels of prudence to the representative of Great Britain. In 1856 the Chief Superintendent of Trade was Sir John Bowring, who had been appointed by Lord Clarendon. Sir John Bowring was an able, ambitious man, an excellent linguist, and in politics a Benthamite Radical. He had sat for many years in Parliament, had been sent as a Commercial Commissioner to various countries, and possessed that sort of practical acquaintance

The affair of the *Arrow*.

Sir John Bowring.

1856. with trade which is acquired by failing in business. But he was deficient in tact, judgment, and knowledge of human nature. He bitterly resented his exclusion from Canton, and he was on the look-out for a cause of rupture with the Chinese authorities when chance threw one in his way. The *Arrow* was a small Chinese ship, called a *lorcha* from its Portuguese design, but built and owned by Chinese merchants. Whilst she was lying at anchor off
Oct. 8. Canton, and according to the testimony of some witnesses, flying the British flag, a Chinese Mandarin boarded her, and carried off her crew of twelve men on a charge of piracy. Her master, her "nominal" master, as he described himself, an Englishman named Kennedy, was absent on the occasion. He had no interest in the vessel, which was purely and exclusively Chinese. On the question whether the British flag had been hoisted before the arrest of the crew there was a direct conflict of evidence. One of the witnesses, who said that he saw the flag, added that the Mandarin responsible for the seizure exclaimed, "Take that flag down. This is not a British ship." Such was indeed the fact. A license to carry British colours had been granted the *Arrow*. But even if it had been granted regularly, which some of the highest legal authorities in England denied, it had expired by lapse of time, and was no longer available in law. The *Arrow* was no more a British ship than a Portuguese one, and the seizure of her crew was a mere act of municipal police, having no international aspect whatsoever. But Mr. Parkes,[1] the British Consul, demanded the release of the men, and when it was refused, applied to Sir John Bowring, then at Hong Kong, for instructions. He got them with a vengeance. Sir John replied that the license of the *Arrow* had run out, but

[1] Afterwards Sir Harry Parkes, and British Minister to China.

that the Chinese were not aware of the fact, and that they must be required to apologise within forty-eight hours. In a despatch which carefully concealed the truth the Queen's representative in China demanded from Yeh, the Governor of Canton, an apology for an offence which he knew had not been committed. But the expiry of the license was by no means the only defect in the case put forward by Sir John Bowring and Mr. Parkes. They claimed that under the terms of the treaty offenders in British ships must be given up to the British Consul. But the *Arrow* could not by the statute law of England be a British ship, because her crew was entirely Chinese. Nor had the Government at Hong Kong any power to give a Chinese ship, by license or otherwise, immunity from Chinese law. As Governor Yeh put it, the act of hoisting a British flag did not make a ship British. It was not buying the ship, but selling the flag. Lord Grey, Lord Malmesbury, and Lord Granville had all found it necessary at different times to warn Sir John Bowring against acting on his own initiative without instructions. Lord Clarendon, on the contrary, had left him to himself, and he took full advantage of his freedom. He sent a message to the Admiral commanding on the Chinese station, Sir Michael Seymour, and desired him, as Yeh refused redress, to attack the forts of Canton. Sir Michael complied, took the forts, and burnt the buildings. Two days afterwards he captured Dutch Folly, which commanded Canton, and with it fifty guns. Yeh released the prisoners, which by international law he was in no way bound to do, but absolutely declined to apologise for an offence which he had not committed. He also requested that two of the men might be sent back to be tried for piracy. Consul Parkes rejected this overture, and sent

1856.

Bowring's unfounded claims.

The forts of Canton destroyed.

Oct. 23.

1856. back the men whom he had himself demanded, alleging that they were not accompanied by a suitable escort. At this point Bowring conceived that the diplomatic moment had arrived for insisting upon admittance to Canton, and called upon Yeh to let him in. Getting no answer, he again had recourse to the argument of big guns, and Seymour proceeded to shell the public buildings of the city which would not admit Sir John Bowring. The Admiral could shelter himself behind civilian authority, though it was none of the highest. But whosoever was responsible for these acts, they were as wantonly and inexcusably violent as a strong Power ever committed against a weak one. Driven to bay, the Governor put himself in the wrong by offering rewards for the heads of Englishmen, and for the destruction of ships which had a real right to fly the British flag. There followed a lamentable series of lawless proceedings. Although England was not at war with China, the British fleet destroyed a Chinese junk, took French Folly Fort and the Bogue Forts, and burnt the western suburbs of Canton. On the other hand the Chinese set fire to the foreign factories, and murdered a number of Europeans on board the mail steamer *Thistle*. A Chinese baker was accused of attempting to poison Sir John Bowring and other Englishmen. But though there were a number of suspicious circumstances, the charge was never proved.

Bombardment of Canton.

Yeh's retaliation.

Nov. 5.

Nov. 18.

1857. Jan. 12.

The Chinese debates.

Upon the publication of the Blue Book describing these events a formal attack was made on the Ministry by Lord Derby in the Lords, and by Mr. Cobden in the Commons. Lord Derby surpassed himself, and indeed few finer speeches have been made to the House of Lords than that in which he moved his resolutions. It is extremely eloquent in form, absolutely conclusive in substance, and full of that robust humour for which

Feb. 24.

Feb. 26.

the Blue Book provided ample opportunity. Nothing, for instance, could be better than the light touch with which he handled Sir John Bowring's persistent monomania, never varying, in season or out of season, for getting into Canton. Lord Derby did not mince his words, nor was he afraid of being called a Chinaman. He boldly declared that Yeh had been "forbearing, courteous, and gentlemanlike," while Sir John Bowring was "menacing, disrespectful, and arrogant." He made a personal appeal to the Bishops, and called upon them to vindicate the cause of religion, humanity, and civilisation. Unfortunately the Bishop of Oxford was the one Prelate who responded to the appeal, and popular as Dr. Wilberforce might be in ecclesiastical circles, he never commanded the confidence of the English people. In dealing with the constitutional aspect of the case Lord Derby accused Sir John Bowring of usurping the Queen's prerogative to declare war, which could only be wielded by her confidential advisers in the Cabinet. Inasmuch, however, as the Cabinet approved of all Sir John's proceedings, and adopted them, this point, as in the case of Lord Stratford at Constantinople, had not much practical importance. But Lord Derby's concluding words have a permanent interest and value. He called upon the Peers to declare that "they would not tolerate the destruction of the forts of a friendly country; that they would not tolerate the bombardment and the shelling of an undefended and commercial city; and that they would not on any consideration give the sanction of their voice to the shedding of the blood of unwarlike and innocent people without warrant of law, without moral justification." He appealed in vain. The debate, indeed, was all in his favour. Lord Clarendon's reply was feeble and evasive, putting

1857.

Lord Derby's great speech.

1857. forward such points as that the *Arrow's* license could not have expired because she had not returned from her voyage, and that the Chinese could not take advantage of the plea because they were not aware of the fact. Lord Granville was still feebler, and we know from Greville[1] that he was speaking against his own opinion. Lord Lyndhurst utterly demolished the legal arguments of the Chancellor, and pronounced himself unable to improve, either in form or substance, upon Governor Yeh's exposition of the law. This speech made, as it deserved to make, a profound impression. The speaker was no "peace-at-any-price man." Lord Lyndhurst had been an enthusiastic supporter of the Crimean War. During his long and chequered career he had espoused many and diverse causes. But a man of eighty-five, who had been three times Lord Chancellor of England, could not be suspected of personal ambition, and he had, as Macaulay says of a very different character, "one of those happily constituted intellects which across labyrinths of sophistry, and through masses of immaterial facts, go straight to the true point." When Lord Lyndhurst had expounded a case, political or legal, it was possible of course to disagree with him, but quite impossible to misunderstand him. Lord Derby's resolutions, four in number, declared, first, that friendly relations with China should not have been interrupted; secondly, that that interruption was an unsuitable opportunity for reviving the claim of admittance to Canton, dormant since 1849; thirdly, that hostilities ought not to have been undertaken without express instructions from the Government; and, fourthly, that neither the seizure of the *Arrow* nor the closure of Canton were sufficient justification for the use of force. It was necessary, at least in

Lord Lyndhurst's adoption of Yeh's law.

Lord Derby's resolutions.

[1] "Memoirs," 27th February 1857.

debate, to draw a distinction between the demand for redress in respect of the *Arrow* and the application to open Canton. For whereas the letter of the law was against Sir John Bowring on the first point, it was in his favour on the second. The British right of admission to a treaty port was incontestable. The objections to enforcing it were motives of policy and expediency. The resolutions, however, were put as a whole, and the Lords rejected them after two nights' debate by a majority of 36. 1857. Their rejection. Feb. 26.

The same evening Mr. Cobden proposed in the House of Commons what Lord Palmerston regarded, in accordance with Constitutional usage, as a vote of censure. Cobden moved in substance that the papers which had been laid upon the table failed to establish satisfactory grounds for the violent measures adopted at Canton in the late affair of the *Arrow*. The discussion, which extended over four nights, became ere it closed vehement and even fierce in tone. But Cobden opened it calmly, and with that deadly moderation which was more formidable to his opponents than the most scathing sarcasm, or the most furious invective. There are other speeches of his, such as his exhaustive analysis of Protection and its results in the spring of 1845, which enjoy a wider fame. There is not one more characteristic than this quiet, almost conversational exposure of the Blue Book absurdly called "Insults in China." Claiming with justice to have done as much as any man for the extension of commerce by legitimate means, and drily remarking that he was sometimes supposed to care for nothing else, he earnestly protested against making war for the sake of trade as equally futile and immoral. For the legal aspect of the case, he relied upon Lord Lyndhurst, and he quoted the authority of a gallant Admiral, Sir Thomas Cochrane, for the proposition that kindness Cobden's motion. His speech.

1857. and courtesy were always effective with the Chinese, "an ingenious and civilised people, who were learned when our Plantagenet Kings could not write, who had logic before Aristotle, and morals before Socrates." No serious answer was given to Mr. Cobden's lucid and persuasive reasoning. Sir Richard Bethell, the Attorney-General, who made insolence a fine art, observed that all he had to do was to answer the speeches in the House of Lords, as nothing could be added to them in the House of Commons. His idea of answering the speeches in the House of Lords was to lay down propositions at which he would never have hinted in the presence of a Judge, one of which would have enabled a foreign Power to grant British subjects exemption from British law. Lord John Russell raised the debate to a higher level than any lawyer could attain, and in a couple of sentences contrasted the two views of foreign policy which have so often divided public opinion. "We have heard too much of late — a great deal too much, I think — of the prestige of England. We used to hear of the character, of the reputation, of the honour of England." Mr. Gladstone took the same line in what Greville, no enthusiast, called a "magnificent speech," worthy of one who had denounced the iniquities of the Opium War in 1840. It was his opinion, and Greville's, that if the House had divided when Lord John sat down, the majority against the Government would have been overwhelming. It divided after Mr. Disraeli's speech, which was flippant and injudicious. Lord Palmerston, who had addressed his own followers in the meantime, reserved his reply for the closing night, the 3rd of March. It fell far below the level of his performance in 1850, and was made up to a large extent of personal taunts. Cobden, alluding to the old controversy of seven years before, had

Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone.

Palmerston's reply.

remarked that if he were a British merchant in foreign parts, he should not inscribe *Civis Romanus sum* on his warehouse. Palmerston retorted that Cobden was as unfit to be a citizen of England as of Rome. Fastening upon Cobden's admission that he had been acquainted with Sir John Bowring for twenty years, he attacked him for his treatment of a "bosom friend," as if it were a crime to set public interests before private feelings. Palmerston had no case, and he knew it. He therefore fell back upon the easy resort of a statesman involved in foreign complications, and accused his critics of sympathising with the enemies of their country. It was, from his own point of view, the best card he could play, and Mr. Disraeli was not wise when he challenged the Premier to dissolve on the programme of "no reform, new taxes, Canton blazing, Pekin invaded." The immediate result of the debate was the defeat of the Government by a majority of 16 votes. There was some cross-voting. Thirty-five Liberals followed Cobden, and twenty-one Conservatives went into the Ministerial lobby. Thus the situation of 1850 was exactly reversed. Then the Lords condemned the Government, and the Commons acquitted them. Now it was the Lords who acquitted and the Commons who condemned.

1857.

Defeat of the Government.

Two days after the division Lord Palmerston announced his acceptance of Mr. Disraeli's challenge. He had advised Her Majesty to dissolve Parliament so soon as the necessary votes should have been taken in Committee of Supply. Such, he considered, was the only course open to the innocent victim of a factious combination. That the course was a legitimate one, faction itself could not deny. But, on the other hand, there is no reason to doubt Lord Derby's sincerity when he disclaimed concerted action with the Peelites and the Manchester School, by both of whom he was distrusted

March 5.

The dissolution.

1857. and disliked. That Cobden was glad to get the support of the regular Opposition may be assumed. He wanted to carry his motion. The party system had long been, and long continued to be, fluid. Cobden himself said, with much truth, though with some exaggeration, that the Head of the Liberal Government was an aristocratic Tory, and the Chief of the Conservative Opposition was a democratic Radical. But on this occasion neither Cobden nor his temporary allies surrendered any principle. Conservatism was not then connected with aggression abroad, and as for the special case of China, it was the Whigs, not the Tories, who made the Opium War. On this subject Charles Greville does not mince his words. "To say," he writes, "that the majority was made up of a factious coalition of men who sought to turn the Government out, and to take their places, is a wilful and deliberate lie."[1] This language is too strong, though Lord Derby said much the same thing in
March 16. the House of Lords. Politics colour the judgment more than they warp the sense of truth, and Palmerston was so constituted by nature that he never had any difficulty in believing what he wished to believe. When Lord John Russell denounced the charge of combination as a calumny, Lord Palmerston sarcastically substituted a sneering reference to a fortuitous concourse of atoms. But whatever may be thought of Palmerston's tactics from the ethical point of view, they were completely justified by the vulgar touchstone of success. It is not a very difficult thing to rouse the latent pugnacity of Englishmen, or to persuade them that they are being put upon by somebody somewhere. Palmerston absolutely refused to change his policy in China. He would not even recall Sir John Bowring. He made no concessions, and no admissions. He appealed

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 10th March 1857.

to the country, and the country answered by an overwhelming majority that he was right. 1857.

The General Election of 1857 was one of the most interesting and exciting that had ever been held. But the result was not doubtful after the first day, and the only question seemed to be how many of Palmerston's opponents would succumb. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, both great masters of satire and ridicule, exerted their powers in vain. Lord Derby made excellent fun of "Palmerston the true Protestant," "Palmerston the only Christian Premier," and "Palmerston the man of God."[1] Mr. Disraeli, in language which was afterwards turned against himself, accused the Prime Minister of having no domestic policy, and of being therefore obliged to distract the country by adventures abroad. "His external system," the electors of Buckinghamshire were told, "is turbulent and aggressive, that his rule at home may be tranquil and unassailed." The electors of Buckinghamshire were faithful to their distinguished representative, and Mr. Gladstone was not even put to the trouble of a contest for the University of Oxford. Few statesmen at that time were in more thorough agreement than the Chancellor of Oxford and her senior member. Mr. Gladstone, when he was attacking Lord Palmerston, had gone out of his way to praise Lord Derby, and Lord Derby before the elections told those who protested against his joint action with Mr. Gladstone that he would not tolerate any interference with his right to choose his own political allies. There was, however, no coalition between Conservatives and Peelites. They attacked the Government on independent lines, and the attack signally failed. Palmerston's address to the electors of Tiverton, though pro- Palmerston's address.

The General Election of 1857.

[1] These phrases were no inventions. They had been actually used, apparently in good faith, by enthusiastic Palmerstonians.

1857. nounced by Lord John to be unworthy of a gentleman, was well adapted for its purpose. The first sentence of it gives the clue to the rest. "An insolent barbarian, wielding authority at Canton, violated the British flag, broke the engagements of treaties, offered rewards for the heads of British subjects in that part of China, and planned their destruction by murder, assassination, and poison." An "insolent barbarian" is just what Governor Yeh, the representative of a far older civilisation than ours, would have called Lord Palmerston. But the General Election of 1857 was not really held upon the Chinese question alone. It was partly a vote of personal confidence in Lord Palmerston, and partly an endorsement of the Crimean War. The late Parliament had turned out first the Government of Lord Derby, and then the Government of Lord Aberdeen. It had tried to turn out the Government of Lord Palmerston. But the Government of Lord Palmerston had got rid of the Parliament, and made direct application to the source of Parliamentary power. The constituencies rejected Cobden, Bright, Milner Gibson, Fox of Oldham, Cardwell, and Layard. Mr. Cardwell was the only influential Peelite defeated, and he almost immediately recovered his seat for Oxford, though his opponent was Thackeray.[1] Bright and Gibson were colleagues in the representation of Manchester. But whereas Gibson seconded Cobden's motion in the House of Commons, Bright was residing abroad on account of his health, and had taken no part in the Chinese controversy at all. This circumstance supports the view that Russia had quite as much to do as China with Palmerston's triumph. The case of Cobden was

[1] There is a charming story told of this contest. "Well," said Thackeray to Cardwell, "I hope the best man will win." "I hope not," was the reply. Thackeray stood as an independent Liberal, or Radical.

peculiar. He was told that his chances in the West Riding were desperate, and he therefore transferred himself to Huddersfield, then represented by Lord Goderich, afterwards Marquess of Ripon. Cobden was beaten at Huddersfield, while Lord Goderich, who had voted with him in the crucial division, enjoyed in the West Riding the luxury of an unopposed return. The fate of Lord John Russell was for some time most critical. His principal supporter in the City of London told him that he had as much chance of being Pope of Rome as Member for the City, and the Liberal Registration Association, preferring Palmerston to principle, adopted Mr. Raikes Currie, formerly Member for Northampton, in his stead. Lord John, however, refused to be set aside after this unceremonious fashion, called an open meeting of the electors, asked why he should be discarded for "a young man from Northampton," and was finally elected by more than 7000 votes. Cobden remained out of Parliament for two years, Bright only for three months, after which he became Member for Birmingham on the death of Mr. Muntz. But neither of them could foretell the future, and it was not merely their seats that they lost. They were not men who cared for office, nor for the ordinary rewards of public life. What they did value was the popularity and public sympathy which gave them an influence over their fellow-countrymen. That popularity, and that influence, they had acquired in the most honourable manner by their services in procuring the repeal of the Corn Laws, and promoting Parliamentary reform. They sacrificed their influence and their popularity with their eyes open, rather than acquiesce in what they believed to be an unjust war. And their surest title to the lasting esteem of Englishmen is not that they converted a great Minister to Free Trade, not

1857.

The self-sacrifice of Bright and Cobden.

1857. that their view of the Crimean War in 1854 and 1855 is the view held by almost every one now, but that they refused to swim with the stream, and to shout with the crowd, that rather than say what they did not think, or even abstain from saying what they thought, they bore patiently and bravely a storm of calumny and insult which paralysed all their efforts for the public good.

April 30. When the new Parliament met and Mr. Evelyn Denison had been elected Speaker in place of Mr.

May 7. Shaw Lefevre,[1] the Queen's Speech announced that

Lord Elgin's mission to China. a Plenipotentiary had been sent to China, who would deal with all matters in dispute between the countries, "supported by an adequate naval and military force," or, in other words, would threaten the Chinese with war if they did not throw open their commercial cities on the coast. The Plenipotentiary was the Earl of Elgin, formerly Governor-General of Canada, a man of high character and great ability. Not the least satisfactory feature of his appointment was that it completely superseded Sir John Bowring, of whom no more will be heard.

April 21. Lord Elgin had already left England. But before he arrived at Hong Kong a great deal had happened both in China and elsewhere. At the end of May

Fresh hostilities in China. Sir Michael Seymour despatched an expedition up the Canton river, in which a young captain, afterwards Admiral Sir Harry Keppel, displayed much energy and daring. But beyond the destruction of junks, and the loss of many lives, no definite result was obtained. Meanwhile the safety of Europeans in China was constantly threatened, and grew daily less secure. At every fresh outrage, or rumour of outrage, the Palmerstonians exclaimed to the Opposition, "Look at your friends the Chinese." But Lord Derby said truly in a sensible and dignified letter to Lord Malmesbury, "These

[1] Created Lord Eversley.

horrors have been the consequence, and not, as Lord Palmerston would fain make them appear, the provocation to our acts."[1] When Lord Elgin reached Hong Kong in July, he was met by the news that a most alarming outbreak had occurred in India, and by an urgent application from Lord Canning for military assistance. He took an instantaneous and momentous decision, which may be said to have saved India. He diverted to Calcutta the troops intended for Canton, and he followed them himself in the *Shannon*. He did not return till October, when he met his French colleague, Baron Gros, sent by the French Emperor to exact reparation for the murder of French missionaries, and accompanied by a French squadron. Henceforward the operations in China, which could not be renewed till the end of the year, were conducted jointly by the two Western Powers. A melancholy passage from Lord Elgin's *Letters and Journals*[2] shows that his task was not facilitated by the tone and temper of his own countrymen. Writing from Calcutta on the 21st of August 1857, he says, "I have seldom from man or woman, since I came to the East, heard a sentence which was reconcilable with the hypothesis that Christianity had ever come into the world. Detestation, contempt, ferocity, vengeance, whether Chinamen or Indians be the object." So far as India was concerned, these feelings, though they may have been unchristian, were not unnatural. In China they were the direct result of the policy which Lord Palmerston had accepted from Sir John Bowring. Chivalrous no doubt it is in a Minister to stand by his subordinates, right or wrong. Patriotic it is not, because it must sometimes be injurious to the interests of his country, and derogatory to her honour.

1857.

Diversion of Lord Elgin and his force to India.

[1] *Memoirs of an ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 70.
[2] Edited by Theodore Walrond, p. 199.

CHAPTER VI

LORD PALMERSTON'S DICTATORSHIP

1857.

The Palmerstonian dictatorship.

FIRMLY installed in power, Lord Palmerston proceeded to act on the assumption that he could do precisely what he pleased. He had for the first time a real majority in Parliament, and a majority elected for the express purpose of supporting not his measures, nor his colleagues, but himself. How he gained it we have seen. How he lost it is one of the most curious episodes in the political history of England. For some months his path was smooth enough. The House of Commons, with a liberality very different from its economic rigour on the occasion of the Queen's marriage, voted the Princess Royal a dowry of forty thousand pounds, and an annuity of eight thousand a year. A few weeks later Prince Albert was created Prince Consort by letters patent, which, however, only conferred upon His Royal Highness a title long since given him in popular parlance. The Irish Church rate, known as Ministers' Money, levied upon property in towns, and amounting to no more than twelve thousand a year, was abolished by statute, despite the opposition of Lord Derby in the House of Lords; but the clergy of the Irish Establishment were reimbursed from funds at the disposal of the Ecclesiastical Commissioners. Yet once again the Jewish Relief Bill passed the House

May 25.

The Princess Royal's dowry.

June 25.

The title of Prince Consort.

"Ministers' money."

of Commons, and was rejected at Lord Derby's instance in the House of Lords. But the Liberal minority among the Peers received a valuable recruit. The new Bishop of London, Dr. Tait, performed the first in a long series of public services to the Church of England, by making an able speech in favour of religious toleration. The testamentary jurisdiction of the Church, which, in the form of Doctors Commons, had long been a public nuisance, was abolished. A new Court of Probate was established, and power over the distribution of small estates was conferred upon the County Courts. The Government accepted from Lord Goderich a proposal that competition for the Civil Service, which had been partially adopted in May 1855, should be still further extended. The Crown was authorised to embody the militia without summoning Parliament, and an Act was passed to suppress the sale of indecent publications. This measure, introduced by the Lord Chief Justice, and known as Lord Campbell's Act, encountered a strange opposition from a singular man. There has been no one in the public life of England quite like Lord Lyndhurst. Although he had long passed the age of fourscore, his vast intellectual powers had suffered no shadow of decay, and he made a splendid manifestation of them in the debate on China. No one could be more decorous than Lord Lyndhurst as he rolled his stately periods round some point of international or constitutional law. But he had his weaknesses and his prejudices. He liked sailing near the wind, and he could not abide John Campbell. On the second reading of his "noble and learned friend's" Bill, he delivered one of the most amusing speeches to be found in the innumerable volumes of Hansard. He entertained the Lords spiritual and temporal by describing all the most improper pictures by

1857.

Legal reform.

Reform of the Civil Service.

Lord Campbell's Act.

June 25.

Lord Lyndhurst's frolic.

1857. celebrated painters, and all the most improper poems by celebrated poets, which he could by the exercise of a recently refreshed memory bring at the moment to his mind. Whether this strange harangue be regarded as a scandalous exhibition of senile depravity, or the vivacious outburst of a temperament which years could not impair, it was certainly a remarkable performance for a man of eighty-five. Having enjoyed his fun, Lord Lyndhurst assisted in the task of amending the Bill, which became law in the course of the session, much to the advantage of the public, and the credit of Lord Campbell. It was never so far abused as to restrict the reproduction of Lord Lyndhurst's remarks.

Visit of the French Sovereigns.

Aug. 6–10.

As if to show that the alliance still remained intact, the Emperor and Empress of the French visited the Queen and the Prince Consort privately at Osborne, where they were joined by Count Walewski, Count Persigny, Lord Palmerston, and Lord Clarendon. The principal subject of their political discussion was the future of the Danubian Principalities, on which the European Powers were sharply divided in opinion. Turkey objected to their union, and was supported by England and Austria, while Russia, France, now always on Russia's side, Prussia, and Sardinia were in favour of a single administration. This was obviously the more reasonable course, and it ultimately prevailed. But the British Government was as Turkish as the French Government was Russian, and the Prince Consort, loyally co-operating with the Prime Minister, urged separation upon the Emperor. The Emperor, after a long conversation, appeared to yield, though in this case, as so often with him, appearances were deceptive. More important than his insincere pretence of being convinced by argument was his reply to the Prince's plain question

The Danubian Principalities.

whether he desired to maintain the integrity of the Ottoman Empire. He admitted that personally he had no such wish, though as a statesman (*un homme politique*) he was prepared to act with England. The first part of this answer was probably true. The second was certainly false, and Palmerston now knew, if he did not know before, that in the furtherance of his Turkish policy he could no longer rely upon France. The moment of the Imperial visit to Osborne was critical for the peace of Europe. Elections held in Moldavia had resulted in a majority against union with Wallachia. The Porte was accused, not without reason or probability, of having manipulated the returns, and the representatives of the Powers who favoured union threatened to quit Constantinople unless the elections were cancelled. Before leaving the Isle of Wight, the French Emperor agreed with the Prince Consort that if these votes should be set aside, as they afterwards were, he would withdraw his plea for the consolidation of the Principalities. Walewski, however, refused to sign any such undertaking, and it was not fulfilled by his master, so that the negotiations of Osborne came to nothing.[1] They were as futile as the conversations, also held this summer, between Palmerston and the Grand Duke Constantine of Russia, who proposed that Northern Persia should be left to the Russian Consuls, and that British Consuls should confine themselves to the southern parts of the country. The proposal was hardly practical, and if it had been practical, Palmerston would not have accepted it.

1857.

Palmerston and Russia.

The session of 1857 was protracted till the 28th of August by the fixed resolve of the Prime Minister to carry the Divorce Bill. Upon this subject the law of England and Ireland, though not

The Divorce Bill.

[1] Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, vol. iv. pp. 100–106.

1857. of Scotland,[1] was in a very peculiar state. In strict legal theory there was no such thing as divorce. No Court in England or Ireland was competent to dissolve a marriage. The Ecclesiastical Courts granted *divortium a mensa et toro*, now known as judicial separation, which did not enable the parties to marry again, because, though separated, they were still married. But to dissolve the marriages of the rich, Parliament stepped in, and set the law aside. Three separate processes were required to obtain relief. First, the husband must bring a suit for criminal conversation against the wife and the paramour, which was tried at the Assizes, or in London, before a judge and jury. Having obtained a verdict and damages, he had next to go before an ecclesiastical tribunal, and get a decree of separation. Having fulfilled these preliminary conditions, he could promote a private Bill which would finally sever the matrimonial tie. The nature, and the cost, of these proceedings were explained with elaborate irony by Mr. Justice Maule, the wittiest and most cynical of judges, in passing a nominal sentence upon a labouring man deserted by his wife and convicted on a charge of bigamy. "You may say," so he is reported to have addressed the prisoner, "that all this would have cost you many hundreds of pounds, and that you had not as many hundred pence. But, you see, in England there is one law for the rich and for the poor." The House of Lords in these cases heard the evidence, and the House of Commons silently acquiesced in their decision. For the purpose, as it was said, of pacifying the Bishops, the Lords inserted a clause in Committee prohibiting the marriage of the divorcee. But this was always

The inequality of the law.

Observations of Mr. Justice Maule.

[1] In Scotland there neither was nor is a separate Divorce Court. But power to dissolve marriage is exercised by the Court of Session, and the simple adultery of either party is a sufficient ground for a complete divorce.

struck out on Report, or by the Commons. By these clumsy and costly methods any man could get rid of an unfaithful wife. It was theoretically possible for a wife to get rid of an unfaithful husband, who had also been guilty of systematic persecution. But the difficulties in her way seem to have been almost insuperable, for only four instances of private Divorce Acts promoted at the suit of the wife could be found in the Journals of the Lords. The Lord Chancellor's Bill, recommended by the mild wisdom and persuasive reasoning of which Lord Cranworth was a master, established a new tribunal, for England only, with the same judge as the Court of Probate, the same jurisdiction as the Ecclesiastical Courts, and the further right of dissolving marriages (*divortium a vinculo*, as distinguished from *divortium a mensa et toro*), hitherto possessed by Parliament alone. Actions for criminal conversation were abolished, but in its final shape the Bill provided that damages might be recovered by a petitioner from a co-respondent. There would thus be only one trial instead of three, and the expense of obtaining a divorce would be so much diminished as to bring it within the reach of the general community. Women, however, were not put on a level with men. For whereas simple adultery was made sufficient ground for divorce if committed by a wife, if committed by a husband it only gave the wife a claim for judicial separation, unless it were incestuous, or accompanied by cruelty or desertion. The Bill was not really a new one, having been introduced in 1854, and again in 1856. But on this occasion the Government intimated that they would employ all the resources at their disposal to pass it. In the House of Lords, Lord Derby refused to oppose it, and the real leader of the opposition was Bishop Wilberforce, supported, in

1857.

The inequality of the sexes.

1857.

The attitude of the Bishops.

a somewhat hesitating manner, by Bishop Thirlwall. Bishop Tait, on the other hand, gave the measure throughout his weighty and powerful aid. Archbishop Sumner, and the majority of the Bishops present, voted for the second reading. Strenuous attempts were made in Committee to punish adultery as a crime, and to prevent the guilty parties from intermarrying. But they all ultimately failed, and the consequences of the latter proviso were so obvious to every man of the world that though the Leader of the Opposition and the Archbishop of Canterbury voted for it, it was regarded as a mere attempt to wreck the Bill. Lord Lyndhurst fought manfully, but unsuccessfully, for putting women on an equal footing with men. A wife, said the Lord Chancellor, might forgive an unfaithful husband. It was impossible for a husband to forgive an unfaithful wife. The experience of the Divorce Court has proved Lord Lyndhurst to be right, and Lord Cranworth to be wrong. The majority for the second reading of the Bill in the House of Lords had been 29. The majority for the second reading in the House of Commons was 111, and one prominent member of the Opposition, Mr. Walpole, spoke strongly in its favour. But it had a very determined band of opponents, and they had a very formidable head. "Gladstone," wrote Greville on the 3rd of June, "hardly ever goes near the House of Commons, and never opens his lips." Mr. Gladstone's silence was often ominous, and it never lasted long. The resistance he offered to the Divorce Bill through all its stages, until, just before the third reading, domestic bereavement withdrew him from the House, had at that time seldom been equalled in the annals of Parliament for a combination of ingenuity with pertinacity. All the resources of his eloquence, all the subtleties of his intellect, and all

Gladstone's opposition.

his knowledge of Parliamentary procedure, were directed against a Bill which, in his eyes, was not merely mischievous but sacrilegious. He was baffled by the dead weight of numbers, by the brilliant capacity of Sir Richard Bethell, the Attorney-General, by Lord Palmerston's announcement that he would keep the House sitting until the Bill was through, and by the injustice of his cause. Argue as he might against divorce, Mr. Gladstone could not deny its existence, though he tried to explain it away. His dialectical resources were much more than equal to the task of maintaining that divorce was contrary to the law of England, because only Parliament could grant it. But as a plain matter of fact Parliament did grant it to any one who could pay for it. In other words, justice was sold to the rich, and denied to the poor. All the doctors of all the churches could not get rid of that simple fact, while the only alternative to the measure, a regular opposition to private Divorce Bills, would in the first place have been scarcely ever successful, and in the second place would have raised an interminable series of debates degrading to the reputation of Parliament. But although the case for the Bill was in the circumstances overwhelming, it is impossible not to admire Mr. Gladstone's indomitable energy, his courage in braving unpopularity, and his complete indifference to the retort that he had been himself responsible for a similar measure in the Government of Lord Aberdeen. On one point he deserved to succeed. He merits the gratitude of all women for the warmth and feeling with which he pleaded for their rights, pointing out that the legal definition of cruelty which restricted it to the infliction of bodily suffering, or bodily fear, ignores the insults which "send the iron into the soul." The only substantial concession made by the Government was a clause 1857.

1857. exempting the clergy from the obligation to marry divorced persons. At length, on the 25th of August, after escaping by a majority of 2 votes total shipwreck in the House of Lords, where Lord Redesdale, the Chairman of Committees, moved to put off the consideration of the Commons' amendments, it became law, and the storm subsided as suddenly as it had arisen.

The Bill passed.

Lord Macaulay.

Sept. 10. A few days after the prorogation of Parliament it was announced that Macaulay had once more become a member of the Legislature. He had left the House of Commons in 1856. He was gazetted a Peer in 1857. Macaulay had long withdrawn himself from the strife of parties, and the honour thus conferred upon him by his favourite Minister was received with a universal chorus of praise. He never found time or opportunity to speak in the House of Lords, which he had so often attacked as a politician, and to which he had done such ample justice as an historian. But he was cordially welcomed on both sides of it as an honour to that or any other Assembly. Some may see in Macaulay's acceptance of an hereditary distinction, a departure from the principles of his youth and manhood. There have been such cases, and they suggested to a cynical observer that the House of Lords, like another and a warmer place, may be designed for the reception of those who do not believe in it. But Macaulay's Peerage was only in form hereditary. He was not married, and it was practically certain that he never would be. His Barony was a just, though an inadequate recognition of splendid talents nobly employed. For himself, his Whiggery had long ceased to be distinguishable from that moderate Conservatism which would be quite willing to consider the desirability of change if it thought that any change was needed.

CHAPTER VII

THE INDIAN MUTINY

1857. The Indian Mutiny.

THERE are times in the history of every nation, however peaceable and progressive, when she has to fight or to go down. Such a time came to England in the summer of 1857. There was no opportunity for reflection. Action, prompt and immediate, could alone save British India to the British Crown. The native army turned against the paramount Power. The extinguisher caught fire. Alone, without an ally, against odds too great to be counted, England in the face of the world reconquered India. If her statesmen showed little sagacity in providing for the danger, her soldiers confronted it with iron resolution and heroic fortitude. The causes of the Indian Mutiny were deeper and wider than the greased cartridges from which it immediately sprang. Lord Dalhousie's conquests had not been accompanied by a proportionate increase of the only force in India upon which full reliance could be placed. A sense of grievance was suffered to accumulate and nothing was done to guard against the consequences of discontent. Lord Dalhousie had many noble qualities, but he lacked imagination. He could not understand that the inhabitants of an Indian State might prefer oppression to freedom, and misgovernment to change. India is, for the most part, intensely conservative, and imbued with the spirit of caste.

Effects of Dalhousie's policy.

1857. The great acquisitions of the Punjab, of Lower Burmah, and of Oudh excited less, and less hostile, feeling than the partial suppression of the adoptive principle in the protected States. From his own, the British, the Liberal point of view, Lord Dalhousie had an unanswerable case. Why should Chiefs be allowed to leave their people as legacies to any worthless favourites whom they might take up, or who might get hold of them? To an Englishman, or a logical Scot, like Lord Dalhousie, this question admitted of no reply. The Hindoo replied that the people were the Rajah's property, and that he might dispose of them because his ancestors had done so from time immemorial.

The principle of adoption.

Dalhousie's official career had been brilliantly and almost uniformly prosperous. His successor had to confront a sudden and terrible emergency for which nobody, not even Dalhousie himself, had prepared him. Lord Canning was very unlike his predecessor. By nature calm and pacific, prudent and cautious, he was a more trustworthy, though a much less brilliant, man than his celebrated father.[1] Lord Dalhousie had left India in the firm belief that the army was thoroughly loyal. The warnings of Sir Charles Napier, who did not live to see their fulfilment, were disregarded, and it is doubtful even now whether they had any foundation at the time. For most of the events to which the great outbreak has been traced occurred after 1850, when Sir Charles left India, and many of them after 1853, when he died. They were not designedly connected with each other, though the native mind found a sinister bond of union between them. The one prominent man who foretold the Mutiny was Sir Henry Lawrence, and his warn-

Lord Canning.

[1] George Canning, the Prime Minister. Lord Canning's Peerage was inherited from his mother, who had been created a Viscountess after the death of her husband.

1857.

ings were unheeded, though published in the *Calcutta Review*.[1]

The native army. Terms of enlistment.

Most of the Sepoy[2] troops were enlisted on terms which did not allow the Government to send them across the sea. As the sea included the Bay of Bengal, this had been found an inconvenient restriction at the time of the Burmese War in 1852, and Lord Canning proposed to alter the terms of enlistment, forgetting or ignoring the fact that crossing the sea might mean loss of caste. To enrol a large number of Sikhs, the best soldiers in India, was a very proper step from a military point of view. But the Sikhs were dreaded in Bengal, and the Bengalis were alarmed. To permit the remarriage of Hindoo widows was a just and salutary reform, which Lord Canning took over from Lord Dalhousie in the shape of a Bill. It gave, however, great offence to the orthodox Hindoos, and it unhappily coincided with a missionary manifesto, for which the Government were not responsible, declaring that railways and telegraphs gave ample facilities for the general conversion of India. Lord Canning's subscriptions to missionary societies were quoted in support of an alleged scheme for spreading Christianity by force, although Lord Canning was not more religious than other people, and only gave what it was customary for the Governor-General to give. Some officers of the Indian army, however, conceived that they were bound by the plain words of Christ to preach the Gospel among their men, military orders and regulations notwithstanding. From all this it came about that among various classes in Bengal, in the Punjab, and in Oudh, but especially among the native soldiers, there grew steadily a belief in the intention of the paramount Power to destroy their

Enrolment of Sikhs.

The re-marriage of widows.

Missionary manifesto.

Preaching officers.

[1] Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. ii. pp. 452–453.

[2] The word "Sepoy" means simply "Soldier."

1857.

Influence of the war with Russia:

religion and their caste, to imperil their future in this world and the next. And as ill luck would have it, along with the fear of these dark designs there went a conviction that the Russian War had diminished the strength of England. The withdrawal of two British regiments in 1854 may have been for the moment necessary. The neglect to fill their places was fatal, and it was followed in 1856 by the despatch of six British regiments to Persia. At the beginning of 1857 India contained all the elements of revolution, and the Indian Government was unconsciously living on a volcano.

of the war with Persia.

The composition of the Indian army.

At that time the Indian army consisted of three hundred thousand men. But of these only forty thousand were Europeans, and less than thirty thousand were troops from England. The remainder, about thirteen thousand, had been raised by the Company in India itself. When the Sepoy army was first formed in the eighteenth century, the officers came for the most part from the aristocracy of India. As the number of British officers was, for reasons supposed to be prudential, increased, this class gradually transferred itself to the armies of the native States, and the few native officers who had risen from the ranks were too old to be of much use. Into the constitution of this curious force there entered the baffling and intractable spirit of caste. Caste in India does not coincide with what we know as class, and a private soldier might be a Brahmin, before whom, when off duty, his serjeant would prostrate himself with his forehead to the ground.

Caste and discipline.

These mixed regulations were not conducive to the maintenance of military discipline. But they were by no means the most serious form of the conflict between the religions of the country and the regulations of the service. The discontinuance of the old Brown Bess, and the substitution of the

Enfield rifle, made it necessary that the cartridges should be greased. A fatal rumour found its way among the Sepoys that they were smeared with the fat of cows, which are sacred to the Hindoos, and with the fat of pigs, which are an abomination to the Mohammedans.[1] This report united against the paramount Power the two great creeds and races of India. The impossibility of combining Mohammedans with Hindoos was one of the safeguards for British rule. The cartridges removed it, and removed it just at the moment when other circumstances had bred the suspicion that India would be Christianised by violent means. Nor was the rumour itself without previous foundation. In the year 1853 cartridges had been issued which were greased with tallow, and though there was no hogs' lard in the tallow, it seems that there was some beef fat. Colonel Tucker, the Adjutant-General of Bengal, wrote to the Secretary of the Military Board a warning that these cartridges might give trouble. His letter appears to have been put into a pigeon-hole. At all events it did not get beyond the Board. Nothing could shake the belief of official India in the loyalty of the Sepoy army until it no longer mattered what any one believed. It is, however, very difficult to suggest means by which the minds of the Sepoys could have been reassured. That their conviction of the danger threatening them was sincere cannot be doubted. And it was more than conviction. It was terror. They were afraid of pollution, and of damnation. Even those who did not accept the story themselves were afraid of being shunned and repudiated by those who did. One obvious method of allaying their apprehensions was adopted. They were allowed to oil the cart-

1857.

The greased cartridges.

Union of Mohammedans and Hindoos.

The Sepoy panic.

[1] The proportion of Hindoos to Mohammedans was approximately five to one.

1857. ridges themselves. They then declared that the paper itself was contaminated, being composed of animal bladder. For this there was no remedy, except to discontinue musketry drill, which would have been an abject concession to flat mutiny.

The beginning of open resistance to authority, which occurred at Barrackpore, sixteen miles from Calcutta, at the beginning of February, was quelled by General Hearsey. On the 25th of February, however, the men of the 19th Regiment, stationed at Berhampore, a hundred miles north of Barrackpore, under Colonel Mitchell, refused to take their cartridges. Mitchell injudiciously threatened them with being sent to Burmah or China, where, he told them, they would die.[1] After long delay the 19th was, as a punishment, disbanded, but the men were not degraded by being stripped of their uniforms. At this time, when promptitude was everything, the Indian Government was fatally hampered by the scarcity of European troops.[2] The panic was spreading, and it was now not merely a terror of unclean things. The Sepoys took it into their heads that troops were being brought from Europe to destroy them, and under the influence of fear they lost their self-control. At Barrackpore, General Hearsey twice addressed the Sepoys in Hindustani, and endeavoured to persuade them that they were under a delusion. Notwithstanding his exhortations, the 34th mutinied, and a native soldier, Mungul Pandy by name, cut down Lieutenant Bough. Mungul Pandy was hanged, and the regiment was disbanded with ignominy, but unluckily not till May, when disaffection was much more widely spread. At Umballah the Commander-in-Chief,

[1] This is disputed. But Sir John Kaye believes it, and I follow him. —Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War*, vol. i. p. 502.

[2] There was only one European regiment between Calcutta and Dinapore, a distance of 400 miles in length, and of enormous breadth.

General Anson, himself addressed the native officers on parade through an interpreter. The officers expressed their sense of the honour, but declared that they could do nothing with their men, who all believed the stories. An ominous symptom of increasing disaffection was the prevalence of incendiary fires, and the mysterious distribution of "chupatties" perplexed the English mind. These little cakes were passed from hand to hand, and brought from one town or village to another, without, so far as could be observed, any writing or message. Their precise significance was never discovered. But it is generally supposed that they were a call to action against the white men. Among the wild tales then told and believed was one that the flour for the soldiers' bread had been made of bone-dust, which would contaminate those who ate it. 1857. The chupatties.

But the most serious part of the affair was a fact not suspected by any English officer at the time, and not discovered for many years afterwards. The story of the greased cartridges was true.[1] The mixture used to prepare them for the Enfield rifle was actually composed of cows' fat and hogs' lard. Such gross and culpable negligence was assumed by General Anson, by General Hearsey, and by Lord Canning to be out of the question. They therefore boldly and in good faith denied that there was any foundation for the rumour. Unhappily the Sepoys had accurate information to the contrary from the native workmen at the arsenal of Fort William, and they therefore thought that their officers were intentionally deceiving them. This, of course, made matters fifty times worse than before. For if the British Government were telling lies about the cartridges, and wilfully misrepresenting the nature of the sub- The truth of the cartridge story.

[1] Lord Roberts's *Forty-One Years in India*, vol. i. p. 431.

1857. stance with which they were lubricated, the inference that the outrage to religion and caste was deliberate seemed to follow as a matter of course. After that it was useless to argue. For the force of arguments depends upon the assumption that they are honestly employed. If the opposite hypothesis be adopted, they become mere subterfuges and evasions. And of course to men in a state of panic the discovery of what looked like treachery was maddening. Their worst fears were confirmed; they became unmanageable. It may be that, if the authorities had known the truth, they could have quelled the disturbance by destroying the polluted cartridges. As it was, they remained under a suspicion which, though quite unjust, was not wholly baseless, and with which their own ignorance effectually prevented them from coping.

Early in May Sir Henry Lawrence found it necessary to disband the 7th Regiment of Oudh Irregulars. But the serious movement, the movement which shook for a time the whole fabric of British rule in India, began at Meerut. Eighty-five men who had there declined to use the new cartridges were put on their trial before a native Court-Martial, composed of six Mohammedans and nine Hindoos, which sat for three days. All the prisoners were found guilty, and sentenced to ten years' hard labour on the roads, but recommended for "favourable consideration," that is, to mercy, because they had been misled. General Hewitt, who was in command of the Division, confirmed this terrible punishment, except that for those mutineers who had been less than five years in the army he reduced it from ten years to five. The sentence was carried out on Saturday the 9th of May. The men, in spite of earnest petitions for pardon, were stripped of their uniforms,

The revolt at Meerut.

May 6–8.

put in irons, and taken to gaol. This degradation was inflicted upon them in the presence of their fellow-soldiers and fellow-countrymen, with two English regiments looking on. Then, with "incredible folly" (the words are Lord Canning's), they were put under a native guard. On Sunday evening, while the European residents were on their way to church, the native troops in Meerut, headed by the 3rd Cavalry, rose and released the captives. The Colonel, Carmichael Smyth, did not go near his regiment, which was the first to mutiny. He remained inactive. So did General Hewitt and his Brigadier, Archdale Wilson. The mutineers, left unmolested, burned and pillaged the European quarters, murdering a number of women and children. No attempt was made to stop them,[1] and next day they were allowed to march off in triumph for Delhi, where the native troops there stationed gladly received them. The old King of Delhi was in his dotage. But he belonged to the house of Timur; he was the hereditary representative of the Great Mogul; and he had an active, intriguing wife, anxious to revive the old splendours of the fallen dynasty. In the cantonments outside Delhi the 38th and 54th Regiments mutinied, shooting several of their officers. At Delhi Lieutenant Willoughby, who escaped by a miracle with his life, only to die of his injuries six weeks afterwards, showed conspicuous courage in blowing up the magazine while he himself was in it rather than let it fall into the hands of the rebels, hundreds of whom were killed by the explosion. A few days afterwards the Europeans remaining in Delhi, chiefly women, were deliberately slaughtered. The natives desecrated the Christian churches, rang

1857.

Release of the prisoners.

Escape of the mutineers to Delhi.

May 11.

The massacre at Delhi, May 16.

[1] Lord Roberts considers that no such attempt could have succeeded (*Forty-One Years in India*, vol. i. pp. 90–91), though he does not deny that it ought to have been made.

1857. the bells in mockery, and then flung them to the ground.

Now that Delhi was completely in the hands of the insurgents, Lord Canning found himself face to face with a struggle of life and death for the retention of British India. No such peril had menaced the power of the great Company since their political, as distinguished from their commercial, position was established by the battle of Plassey, just a hundred years before. The mercantile community of Calcutta, and even a portion of the military class, were smitten with panic. But the Governor-General was calm and resolute. He refused to put off a ball at Government House, lest he should give any encouragement to the public alarm. He issued a Proclamation to the natives of India, in which he earnestly repudiated any desire to interfere with their customs, honestly denied the pollution of the cartridges, and appealed to the past for proof that the British Government had never deceived the people. But the Proclamation, not unnaturally, was as futile as General Anson's Address. For absurd as was the theory of the conspiracy against caste, the pollution of the cartridges was a fact, and it was clear that a guilty Administration would not stick at denying their guilt. There was only one thing to do if British rule in India was to be saved. That was to strike quickly, and to strike hard. Lord Canning had not, as he well knew, the necessary force, and at first he underrated the danger. He was not, as Lord Dalhousie was, born great. He had greatness thrust upon him, and as the danger grew he steadily rose to the occasion. He pressed upon General Anson, who was at Simla, the urgent need for the speedy recapture of Delhi. Both in a public despatch and in a private letter he begged Lord Elgin to send him the troops destined

The gravity of the peril.

May 16.

Lord Canning's firmness.

for Canton, as Governor Yeh could wait, and India could not. Through Lord Harris, the Governor of Madras, he sent for Sir James Outram, and the force which Sir James had just brought back from Persia. Above all he did his best to rouse General Hewitt and General Wilson from their apathy at Meerut. But for more than a fortnight nothing could move them, and during those precious sixteen days the mutineers secured themselves in the possession of Delhi. The two Generals afterwards laid the blame upon each other. But Hewitt was the General of Division, and his responsibility is greater than his Brigadier's. 1857.

The two men upon whom Lord Canning chiefly relied were Sir John Lawrence, the civilian administrator of the Punjab, and Sir Henry Lawrence, the military administrator of Oudh. General Anson was not a man of resource. He had been only two years in India, and owed his appointment rather to his social connections than to his professional services, which had practically ended when he was a lad of seventeen at Waterloo. His destiny did not permit him to justify his elevation. Rejecting the advice of Sir John Lawrence to disband the native regiments at Umballah, whither he had come from Simla, he started with a mixed force for Delhi, but was seized with cholera at Kurnaul, and died on the 27th of May. Sir Henry Barnard, who arrived in time to bid him farewell, assumed by the Governor-General's instructions the chief command, and immediately continued the march. The same day General Wilson, having at length realised the urgent necessity of immediate action, started from Meerut to meet Barnard. They met at Alipore. But before that Wilson had twice defeated a rebel force on the river Hindun. In the first battle he took five guns, and the Sepoys fled in disorder. The next day, however, they attacked

The Lawrences.

General Anson.

June 7.

May 30–31.

1857. him in renewed strength, and, though repulsed, withdrew in regular fashion. A more important engagement was fought about a week later at Budlee-ka-Serai, where Barnard and Wilson in combination on their way to Delhi killed more than three hundred mutineers, and captured twenty-six of their guns.

Battle of Budlee-ka-Serai, June 8.

But these victories, such as they were, had little or no effect on the progress of events. The Mutiny rapidly spread, and the Legislative Council, at the Governor-General's instance, passed an Act giving to Executive Officers throughout India the uncontrolled power of life and death. The measure was useful and timely. But the imperative need of the moment was such a military force as the mutineers could not resist, and that force was not at hand. The most atrocious rascal in all the rascaldom of the East saw his opportunity. Nana Sahib was the adopted son of Baji Rao, formerly Peishwa of the Mahrattas, who died in 1851, leaving the Nana a princely fortune. The pension of eighty thousand pounds a year granted to Baji Rao in 1818 after the Mahratta War lapsed with his death, and Lord Dalhousie, concurring with the Government of the North-West Provinces, declined to renew it. If they had renewed it, they would have robbed the taxpayers of India for the benefit of an exceedingly rich and entirely worthless individual. Nana Sahib had plausible manners, and affected English tastes. He gained the confidence of his English friends, and was regarded as thoroughly loyal to the paramount Power. But he never forgave the rejection of his totally unfounded claim, and he is believed to have been actively, though secretly, concerned in the movement which preceded the Mutiny. His full revenge was reaped at Cawnpore.

Spread of the Mutiny.

Nana Sahib.

This garrison town on the Ganges in the North-

West Provinces was occupied at the end of May by Sir Hugh Wheeler, one of the oldest Generals in the Company's service. Early in June, at the secret instigation of Nana Sahib, the native troops, the 2nd Cavalry and the 3rd Infantry, suddenly rose, and seized the magazine, which contained two twenty-four pounders, and several other guns. The rising occurred on the 4th of June. On the 6th the mutineers besieged the temporary intrenchment where Wheeler and the whole white population of Cawnpore had taken refuge. They had eight nine pounder guns, with which they inflicted much loss upon the enemy. But their position, unless relieved, was from the first hopeless, and there is no more splendid example of heroic endurance in English history than the fact that they held out for nearly three weeks. Men, women, and children were packed into one narrow building, some four hundred and fifty in all. Two hundred and fifty died during the siege, from hunger, thirst, and wounds. The happiest were killed outright. Among the heroes of those awful weeks, under the sun of an Indian June, the names of Captain Moore, Lieutenant Mowbray Thomson, and Lieutenant Delafosse are conspicuous. But the women showed no less fortitude than the men, and helped their husbands to load the guns. Sir Hugh Wheeler contrived to smuggle into Lucknow a message asking for further help. But no more help could be sent, and on the 23rd of June, the anniversary of Plassey, a determined assault was made upon the survivors. After suffering such miseries as have seldom been endured in war, they succeeded with almost incredible tenacity in beating off the assailants. That was the furthest stretch of human power. Two days afterwards there came through the hands of a woman an offer from Nana Sahib to spare the lives of the garrison and give them safe

1857 The massacre of Cawnpore.

1857. conduct if they would surrender. Even then Wheeler, though approaching his seventieth year, was unwilling to yield. For the sake of the women, however, and at the earnest solicitation of the gallant Captain Moore, he gave way. No suspicion of treachery seems to have crossed his mind, or the mind of any one there. They all implicitly trusted the Nana, who even since the Mutiny began had proclaimed his adhesion to British rule. On the 27th of June, the feeble remnant of the besieged tottered from their shelter, and began making their way towards the Ganges. Wheeler was carried in a palanquin. It stopped a short distance from the river. "Carry me to the bank," said the General. "No," said the bearers, "get out here." As he alighted his head was struck off, and his body thrown into the stream. Then the soldiers began firing indiscriminately on the party as they tried to reach the boats. Some were shot down before they arrived at the bank, others after they had embarked. Mowbray Thomson, Delafosse, and two others escaped. A hundred and twenty, men and women, were taken back to Cawnpore. The men were at once killed. The women were set to grind corn for the household of the Nana, who had himself proclaimed Peishwa on the 1st of July. A fortnight later, when the Nana heard that the British troops were coming near Cawnpore, these English ladies and their little children were deliberately hacked to pieces in cold blood by Hindoos and Mohammedans armed with sabres. Let those foreigners who wonder at the thirst for vengeance which the Indian Mutiny roused in the English people, bethink themselves of Cawnpore.[1]

And though the massacre of Cawnpore was the

[1] Macaulay, a humane man, if ever there was one, said that though he could not bear to see a bird or beast in pain, he could look on without winking while Nana Sahib suffered all the tortures of Ravaillac. — Trevelyan's *Life of Macaulay*, vol. ii. p. 445.

worst, it was not the only one after the murders at Delhi. The same thing happened at Jhansi on a smaller scale. Jhansi was a petty State in Bundelkund, which Lord Dalhousie had absorbed in 1853 on the failure of natural heirs to the Rajah. On the 4th of June the Sepoy garrison mutinied, and fifty-five Europeans took refuge in the fort. The Ranee of Jhansi, the Rajah's widow, who had not been allowed to adopt a son, sent guns to assist the mutineers. The party in the fort had no more provisions, and on receiving a promise of safety from the Ranee, they surrendered. Men, women, and children, they were all butchered in cold blood by order, as is generally believed, of the princess who had engaged to protect them.[1] Although there were sporadic outbursts of disaffection in the Punjab, the rebellion was substantially confined to Bengal, the North-West Provinces, and Oudh. At Lucknow the 71st Regiment of native infantry rose and fired into the mess-room of their officers. With the help of artillery Sir Henry Lawrence drove them from their cantonments, and they retired to Moodripore, where they were joined by a mutinous regiment of light cavalry, the 7th. After hanging a number of men for tampering with the troops, Lawrence proceeded to fortify Lucknow and prepare it for a siege. Within a week the English officers at Allahabad were attacked at mess by their own men, and fourteen out of seventeen were killed. At Gwalior there was a similar rising, and the officers were shot. But the Maharajah of Gwalior, like most of the native princes, stood by the Government, and assisted the European population in escaping to Agra. The loyalty of these princes is a con-

1857.

The massacre of Jhansi.

Mutiny at Lucknow, May 30;

June 6, at Allahabad;

at Gwalior, June 14.

Loyalty of the Maharajah.

[1] Talboys Wheeler's *History of India*, pp. 643–644. But Sir John Kaye questions the personal complicity of the Ranee, whom he regards as a wronged and persecuted woman.

1857. clusive answer to the charge that Lord Dalhousie's annexations were the cause of the Indian Mutiny. General Neill made short work of the mutineers at Allahabad, and the disturbances at the sacred city of Benares were soon suppressed. But the whole of Bengal, except Calcutta, was kept in a state of unrest by constant risings of Sepoys throughout the Province. Bombay and Madras, which had separate armies, remained perfectly tranquil. At Calcutta Lord Canning preserved an appearance of dignified composure which was proof against all attempts to inspire him with alarm. He did not, after the rising at Meerut, underrate the danger. But he was not himself afraid, and he did not always conceal his contempt for those who were. Reluctantly, and at the earnest solicitations of his Council, he consented in June to the enrolment of a volunteer corps, to which he had objected in May. It was organised under Colonel Cavanagh, the Town Major, and did something to allay the prevalent panic. A stringent Act was passed subjecting the Press, both British and native, to the absolute control of the Government for one year. Furious protests were made by loyal English editors against confounding them with native sedition-mongers. But Lord Canning had other reasons besides impartiality for including all newspapers under the same law. It was not only seditious writings with which the Governor-General in Council had to contend. False news might be a source of great peril, and false news was not confined to native journals. More perilous still were irresponsible, but none the less irritating, proposals for destroying native customs, and native law, throughout India. The Sepoy revolt was largely due to terror, or, as Sir John Lawrence bluntly put it, to "sheer funk." The kind of loose threats in which Anglo-

Tranquillity of Bombay and Madras.

Panic at Calcutta.

Enrolment of volunteers.

June 13, the "Gagging Act."

Indian journalists at Calcutta courted the prejudices of their readers by indulging, simply poured oil upon the flames. The single example in which it was found necessary to enforce the Act is almost a sufficient justification of the Council. The *Friend of India* was officially censured and warned for an article predicting that in a hundred years the population of India would be Christian. A philosopher might smile at the prophecy. To the man responsible for the safety of India, it was a more serious cause of alarm than the revolt of a thousand Sepoys. The freedom of the Press is with us a sound and settled principle. But twelve months' suspension of it was the lightest of all the sacrifices made by Englishmen for the maintenance of their rule in India. At the same time the Sepoys at Barrackpore were disarmed, and the King of Oudh, with four members of his retinue, was imprisoned at Fort William. This deposed monarch was living as a pensioner of the Indian Government at Garden Reach. He indignantly denied that he had conspired against the Company, and there was no evidence against him, unless mere suspicion be evidence. He suffered nothing except the indignity of arrest and confinement. But it can hardly be denied that in his case strict justice was set aside to allay the anxieties of Calcutta. The arrival of Sir Patrick Grant gave the Governor-General a military adviser of great experience and skill. But even more welcome to his anxious eyes must have been the sight of the first ship from Singapore coming up the Hooghly, with soldiers sent by Lord Elgin. In nothing was Lord Canning's perfect fearlessness more conclusively shown than in his obstinate refusal, all through the summer months of 1857, to dismiss his own bodyguard of Sepoys at Government House.

1857.

June 15.

June 16.

Arrest of the King of Oudh.

Arrival of Sir Patrick Grant, June 17.

Troops from Singapore.

1857. The siege of Lucknow.

It would have been well if Sir Henry Lawrence had confined himself to fortifying Lucknow against the enemy. In an evil hour he suffered his own sound military judgment to be overborne by the counsels of an enterprising civilian, and marched eight miles from Lucknow to reconnoitre the mutineers. He found them at Chinhut in a much larger force than he had expected; they fell upon him with headlong courage, and his native artillerymen at once deserted. Throughout the campaign, if campaign it can be called, the Sepoys fought with ropes round their necks. They knew that they could expect no mercy, and that the one alternative to victory was destruction. Flight was a temporary expedient. It could not save them in the long run. They drove Lawrence and his little band back to Lucknow, where the English took refuge in the buildings of the Residency, and endured either a merciful death or the horrors of a four months' siege. The chivalrous and beloved commander of the English garrison was speedily released. On the third day he was struck by a shell, and in forty-eight hours he died of his wounds. No other man in the army would have been so deeply regretted. There may have been more brilliant soldiers, and more capable administrators, than Henry Lawrence, though they must have been very few. There has been no more perfect type of a Christian and a gentleman.[1] The weary weeks and months of waiting for relief evoked among the garrison of Lucknow, with Colonel Inglis as Henry Lawrence's successor at their head, a heroism not less noble and scarcely less tragic than that which has consecrated Cawnpore. They could not understand the delay in

June 30.

July 2. Death of Sir Henry Lawrence.

[1] It had been arranged between the Government and the Court of Directors that if any accident befel Lord Canning, Sir Henry Lawrence should succeed him as Governor-General.

reaching them, and yet the chief of the expedition to relieve them was no ordinary man. General Havelock, the son of a Sunderland shipbuilder, had spent his life in India, and was only just returned from the Persian War, where he commanded a brigade under Sir James Outram. But he had no social advantages, and now, in his sixty-third year, he had for the first time an independent force of his own. He was deeply religious, and had joined at his marriage his wife's church, the Baptist. He enforced a sort of Cromwellian discipline among his men, who were known as Havelock's saints. Before relieving Lucknow he had to attempt the relief of Cawnpore, and before reaching Cawnpore he had to fight four battles in nine days, besides marching 126 miles under the deadly sun of an Indian July. At Futtehpore he had the singular fortune, by the skilful use of artillery and Enfield rifles, to defeat the enemy without losing any of his own men. He had, however, no cavalry to send in pursuit, and his last battle, the battle of Cawnpore, was the hardest of all. Nana Sahib, or his military advisers, taught by English instructors, had formed his lines with much skill, and it was necessary to turn the position by a flank movement. This was effected, gun after gun was captured, the last by Havelock's son, who received the Victoria Cross, and Cawnpore was occupied. It was at this battle that the "Gentlemen Volunteer Cavalry," all officers, only eighteen in number, under Captain Barrow, so highly distinguished themselves by their splendid valour that Havelock exclaimed: "Well done, well done, I am proud to command you." Before Havelock entered Cawnpore, a cloud of smoke was seen to rise, and the air was shaken by the explosion of the magazine. If only poor Wheeler had blown it up six weeks earlier, the glorious tragedy of Cawnpore

1857.

General Havelock.

July 7–16.

July 12.

July 16, battle of Cawnpore.

British occupation of the town.

1857. might never have been enacted. Cawnpore was empty, swept, and garnished. Nana Sahib had escaped, and was never again seen by English eyes. His palace at Bithoor was destroyed, and General Neill was left in charge of the city. Then for the first time the soldiers realised what had been done with the women and children. The sight which met their eyes cannot even at this distance of time be fully described or calmly imagined. Neill was a civilised and Christian soldier. But this was too much for him. After directing that the well into which the bodies had been thrown should be reverently filled in with earth and carefully preserved in memory of the dead, he ordered that the blood should not for the present be washed from the walls or floor of the slaughter-house. Then he issued instructions which a month before he would have regarded as atrocious and impossible. Every man concerned in the massacre, before being hanged on the spot, was to wipe out a portion of those gory stains,[1] and if he hesitated, he was to be flogged. This terrible sentence was in at least two cases carried out to the letter. To defend it is difficult. But considering the unspeakable abomination of the crime, most Englishmen will probably consider that if those punished were beyond all doubt the actual culprits, they received far less than their deserts.

General Neill's revenge.

Reception of the news in England.

The news of the mutiny at Meerut reached England at the end of June, and was the subject of anxious inquiry in both Houses of Parliament. But it was not till Saturday the 11th of July that the Government became acquainted with the death of General Anson, and the occupation of Delhi. The Cabinet at once met, and decided to send out

[1] Both Hindoos and Mohammedans thought that this contact with blood would cling to them beyond the grave. "Let them think so," said Neill. Who can blame him?

the foremost soldier in the British army, Sir Colin Campbell, who had rallied the Brigade of Guards at the Alma. Asked when he would be ready to start, Sir Colin characteristically replied "To-morrow," and he kept his word. General Mansfield, afterwards Lord Sandhurst, accompanied him as Chief of the Staff. The other preparations of the Government were less satisfactory, and the Queen addressed an urgent letter to Lord Palmerston in the too well founded belief that Ministers were underrating the gravity of the crisis. Lord Palmerston, whose levity nothing could extinguish, replied in a strain of ironical compliment. Taking up a phrase in which Her Majesty referred to what she would say if she were in the House of Commons, he observed that it was fortunate for those who disagreed with her that she was not there. But the Queen wrote again, sticking to her point, and the Prince Consort assisted her in pressing for the immediate despatch of large reinforcements. This was a real public service, for which the nation is directly indebted to the personal influence of the Sovereign. The Government made far too light of the matter. India was all but lost for sheer want of men, while Palmerston joked with his Sovereign, and jauntily assured the House of Commons that everything would come right. Mr. Vernon Smith, the President of the Board of Control, was a man of fashion rather than a man of business, and the fact that he was responsible for India at such a moment borders on the grotesque. The Opposition made no better show than the Government. Lord Derby was silent, and Lord Malmesbury's maunderings were unintelligible. But Lord Ellenborough did as much mischief as he could by his inopportune strictures on Lord Canning, who had done all that was possible in circumstances of extreme difficulty, and

1857.

Despatch of Sir Colin Campbell.

Lord Palmerston and the Queen.

July 17.

July 27, the conduct of the Opposition.

1857. Mr. Disraeli thought the occasion suitable for an elaborate diatribe against the Administration of Lord Dalhousie, to which he ascribed the revolt of India. India had not revolted, and never did revolt. It was the princes, not the people, that Lord Dalhousie's annexations injured, if they injured any one, and the princes, except Nana Sahib, were perfectly loyal. The idea which Mr. Disraeli propounded of a Royal Commission in the middle of the Mutiny was ludicrous, and Lord John Russell had the whole House of Commons with him when he proposed a direct vote of confidence in the Government of the Queen. There was no question of policy involved. Even John Bright, with all his personal and religious dislike of war, admitted that order must be restored before grievances could be redressed. Mr. Disraeli did not know when he spoke how bad things really were. But he knew enough to have restrained him from making the malicious suggestion that the Government wished to force Christianity upon Mussulmans and Hindoos. If he had thought the Mutiny justifiable, he might have been excused for expressing even at that time his honest conviction. But he had no conviction. He was merely bent on embarrassing the Government at all costs to his countrymen and countrywomen in India. One of his most respected and influential followers, Mr. Thomas Baring, rebuked him to his face in the House of Commons, and the House, undazzled by the brilliant orator, went with the plain man of business. With all his cleverness, which in some things resembled genius, it took Mr. Disraeli many years to discover the true character of the English people. As an attack upon the Government of India which just stops short of defending the mutineers, his speech on this occasion is a marvel of ingenuity. But it did him more harm than it

did the Government, because it was faction in the wrong place. The language of the Queen's Speech at the Prorogation was far more congenial to the resolved and serious temper of the public. "She commands us to acquaint you," said the Lords Commissioners, "that she will omit no means calculated to quell these grave disorders, and Her Majesty is confident that with the blessing of Providence the powerful means at her disposal will enable her to accomplish that end." 1857. Aug. 28.

Her Majesty had need of them all. The siege of Delhi was one of the most formidable tasks ever undertaken by a British force. The Ridge, upon which Sir Henry Barnard had established his camp, consisted of quartz rock. It was about two miles long, and some fifty feet above the city. The area of Delhi is three square miles, and its circumference seven miles, of which two are protected by the river Jumna. Along the remaining five there ran in 1857 a dry ditch, with numerous gates, flanked by towers of solid masonry, amply provided with guns.[1] The main fortress was the King's palace. For the guns there was in the huge magazine a practically inexhaustible store of ammunition, the gallant deed of Lieutenant Willoughby having destroyed only the cartridges for small arms. Investment was out of the question with Barnard's scanty numbers, and the General decided that an assault would be a useless expenditure of life. The proportion of troops within the walls to the troops outside them was estimated at more than two to one, so that in point of fact the mutineers were the besiegers, and the British were the besieged. Happily the road to the Punjab was open for reinforcements, and for communication The siege of Delhi.

The besiegers besieged.

[1] The defences of Delhi had been improved some years before the Mutiny by Robert Napier, afterwards Field-Marshal Lord Napier of Magdala. —Roberts's *Forty-One Years in India*, vol. i. p. 163.

1857. with Sir John Lawrence, who may be said, though a civilian, to have directed the siege of Delhi, while at the same time maintaining peace in his own province. Such supreme importance did he attach to Delhi that he consulted the Governor-General on the question whether Peshawur should not be abandoned to Dost Mohammed,[1] and the British contingent thus liberated sent to the Ridge. Upon this proposal Lord Canning put an absolute and decisive veto, relying on military opinion, which was unanimous against it. But not for a moment did John Lawrence slacken in his encouragement of the nominal besiegers, and his efforts to succour them. Barnard had plenty of provisions, and in one respect he was extremely fortunate. The rainy season had so fully justified its name that there was water in abundance not only for drinking, but also for bathing. Otherwise his prospects were gloomy. From Calcutta he was practically as remote as he was from London. The enemy did not remain behind their forts. They were incessantly active, making frequent sorties, fighting as Englishmen had taught them how to fight, and inflicting serious losses upon attenuated ranks which could ill afford them. On the anniversary, the centenary, of Plassey, celebrated in London by a banquet, and by subscriptions to a memorial of Clive, the Sepoys, who kept it after their manner, made an especially strenuous attempt to clear the Ridge, and though they were driven back, it was at a heavy cost of life.

The abundance of supplies.

June 23, the centenary of Plassey. Attack on the Ridge.

At this critical period, and in the nick of time, there arrived the first batch of reinforcements from the Punjab, accompanied by Brigadier Chamberlain, Adjutant-General, afterwards Field-Marshal Sir Neville Chamberlain, a man as wise in counsel as he was valiant in action, and righteous in all his

Reinforcements from the Punjab.

[1] Ameer of Afghanistan.

ways. A few days afterwards came Baird Smith, the famous Colonel of Sappers, who, with his colleague Alexander Taylor, was to retrieve the fortunes of the war. Meanwhile the health and spirits of Barnard had been visibly declining. He was consumed by anxiety, he could not sleep, and he succumbed to a sudden attack of cholera. His successor, General Reed, described by Baird Smith as a "feeble invalid," had the mortification of seeing British dragoons retire before an incursion of the enemy's cavalry, who killed or disabled two hundred men before they were finally driven off. Five days later another sortie proved in point of losses equally disastrous, and three days after that Reed, whose health had entirely broken down, left the camp for the Himalayas. The command then devolved upon Archdale Wilson, the Brigadier of Meerut, an expert gunner, and well acquainted with the art of war, but of uncertain temper and irresolute mind. Wilson's position was not an enviable one, and nobody could well take a darker view of it than he took himself. With seven thousand men, and without a siege-train, he was expected to take a town seven miles round, with a garrison of twenty thousand, and artillery far superior to his own.

1857. July 3. Death of Barnard, July 5. General Reed in command, July 9. July 17, his retirement. Archdale Wilson succeeds him.

But soon Wilson was joined by two thousand five hundred men from the Punjab under a General who looked at difficulties only to surmount them. John Nicholson was in the prime of life, being thirty-six years of age. He was a tall man, of commanding presence, with the heart of a lion, and his physical strength was almost superhuman. The trusted friend and disciple of the Lawrences, and of Herbert Edwardes, he had highly distinguished himself as a soldier in the Sikh and Afghan Wars, and as an administrator on the north-west frontier of India. The wild hill tribes

Arrival of Nicholson.

1857. worshipped him as an embodiment of a power which they could not understand. Alike in English and in native opinion Nicholson has come to be regarded as the hero of the Indian Mutiny. Yet, brave as he was, he was no braver than Havelock, Outram, or Neill, and able as he was, he was less able than the Lawrences. His temperament was fierce. He was currently reported to have flogged his worshippers. He deliberately argued in cold blood, and not without reference to Scripture, that the assassins of Cawnpore should be flayed alive. But he was a true hero, and the inspiration of his example on the Ridge was worth ten thousand men. Not popular with his brother officers, for his manners were cold and stern, he very soon let it be seen that he had come to act, and not to dawdle or to wait. His energy was contagious,

Aug. 7. and after his arrival there was no rest in Wilson's camp. He discovered that the enemy meant to intercept the siege-train, which was already on its way, and he resolved to be beforehand with

Battle of Najafgarh, Aug. 25. them. The result was the battle of Najafgarh, and a crushing defeat of the Sepoys, of whom eight hundred were killed, and from whom thirteen

Sept. 4. guns were taken. Ten days afterwards the siege-train arrived in safety. Then began one of the most curious personal struggles in the history

Nicholson *v.* Wilson. of the British Army. Wilson was determined that he would not assault. Nicholson was determined that he should. Wilson had on his side the supreme authority of commanding officer, to dispute which in time of war is death, and the accepted principles of military science. Nicholson had a fiery temper, an iron will, the active support of the chief engineer, Baird Smith, and the advantage of the man who wishes to fight over the man who does not. So sharp did the contention wax between them that Wilson threatened to

withdraw the guns, and Nicholson wrote to Sir John Lawrence, "If he had, I would have appealed to the Army to elect another General." But the urgency of Nicholson prevailed, and Wilson sullenly gave way. In ordinary circumstances Nicholson would have been wrong. The risk would have been too great, the loss too heavy. But the capture of Delhi was at that moment for the rulers of India a supreme necessity, and no one, unless it were the Governor-General, saw the necessity more strongly than John Lawrence of the Punjab. Ten days from the appearance of the siege-train, the assault was delivered. Two young subalterns, Home and Salkeld, and Serjeant Smith, earned the Victoria Cross by blowing in the Cashmere Gate, and escaped destruction by a miracle. The first company under Nicholson entered the deadly breach. Street fighting is of all forms the most terrible, and the bullets of unseen assailants strike the most awe. To encourage his followers, Nicholson raised himself to his full height, waving his sword, and was at once shot down. He fell mortally wounded. But his work was done, and he lived long enough to know that the British flag once more waved over Delhi. If in his agony he exclaimed, "Thank God, I have still strength enough to shoot that man," meaning Wilson, his later thoughts were of Henry Lawrence, who had gone before him, and of Herbert Edwardes, and of his Irish home. The day after the forcing of the Cashmere Gate was marked by grave disorder. There was looting, and pillage, as was not unusual, and the stores of liquor were broached, with results which might have been disastrous, if Wilson had not ordered all the wine and spirits to be indiscriminately poured into the streets. The loss to the hospitals was incalculable. But no Commander

1857.

Nicholson prevails.

The assault, Sept. 14.

Nicholson's mortal wound.

Confusion in Delhi.

1857. could afford to face the consequences of a drunken army. It was almost a week after the assault before Delhi fell completely into British hands. The Magazine was captured on the 16th. But it was not till

Capture of Delhi. the 20th that the Queen's soldiers were masters of the Lahore Gate. Then the mutineers fled from the city in disorder, and General Wilson set up his headquarters in the Palace of the King. In that most beautiful building, which had long been a sink of debauchery and iniquity, Queen Victoria's health was drunk with all the honours. Thither was brought, next day, a trembling prisoner, the wretched old

Surrender of the King. King, who had surrendered on the promise that his life should be spared, to Hodson of Hodson's Horse. But this did not satisfy Hodson, who obtained leave to go in search of the Shahzadas, the Princes of the Royal House. Hodson was a dashing leader of irregular cavalry, and his Corps of Guides was well known throughout India. His character has been the subject of endless controversy, and if he was condemned by one Court, he was acquitted by another. But he was as free from scruple as from fear, and he was the last man who should have

The Princes shot by Hodson. been entrusted with a responsible mission. Having found the three Shahzadas, he shot them with his own hand. Such a deed is to be deplored. The Princes were vicious, worthless creatures, and it is probable, though it was not proved, that they were concerned in the murders of May. But for an English officer to kill them in cold blood without a trial was not consistent with the practice of his profession, or with the principles of justice.

The relief of Arrah. The relief of the garrison at Arrah, though on a far smaller scale, is in the roll of honour which ignores size worthy to be set beside the feats of Nicholson at Delhi and Havelock at Lucknow. A band of mutineers from Dinapore, where mutiny had been encouraged by mismanagement, attacked

the neighbouring town of Arrah. A dozen Englishmen, a few other Europeans, and fifty loyal Sikhs, took refuge in the house of Mr. Vicars Boyle, the chief engineer of the East Indian railway, and held it with desperate tenacity for several days against some hundreds of insurgents under Kower Singh. They were almost at the end of their resources when the gallantry and skill of a magnificently insubordinate officer unexpectedly brought them safety and release. Major Eyre of the Bengal artillery[1] was on his way up the Ganges to Allahabad, when he heard at Buxar that the Dinapore mutineers were attacking Arrah. He had with him a Light Field Battery and sixty European gunners. They were not sufficient. He went on therefore to Ghazepore, exchanged twenty-five Highlanders for a couple of guns, and returned to Buxar. There he requisitioned a hundred and sixty men of the 5th Fusiliers despite the protest of their captain, and forthwith marched upon Arrah. He had to fight two battles before he reached it. But he won them both, routed besides defeating the enemy, crossed a stream on a bridge of his own construction, and arrived just in time to save Arrah from the horrors of Jhansi and Cawnpore. For this chivalrous breach of discipline, and audacious assumption of responsibility, Major Eyre met with condonation rather than reward. But though the scale of his operations was not large, few exploits in the whole Mutiny were more conspicuous for the union of capacity with pluck.

1857.

July 27–Aug. 3.

Vincent Eyre.

July 30.

With the fall of Delhi the ultimate hopes of the mutineers were extinguished. Although they held on for months afterwards, they held on like desperate men. There was much fighting yet to be done, but it was done on the one side with the certainty of victory, and on the other side

The fall of Delhi and its consequences.

[1] Afterwards General Sir Vincent Eyre.

1857. with the certainty of defeat. Delhi was the central point. With the King of Delhi the rebels hoped to upset the rule of the Company. When he was brought as a captive into his own palace, while the insurgents scattered as best they could, the Mutiny had received a fatal blow. The great Englishman who then presided over India was able through all the passions of the actual moment, and all the anxieties of the immediate future, to look calmly ahead. Now that the fame of Lord Canning has been cleared from the mists which at one time surrounded it, and his conduct at the beginning of the Mutiny vindicated against idle slander, his countrymen are able to appreciate the debt they owe him. At that time the feeling of race had run so high, and the hatred of white skins for black was so intense, that the Governor-General felt it his duty to pour oil upon the troubled waters. On the 31st of July he issued the celebrated Proclamation which gave him the glorious nickname of Clemency Canning. This document, drawn up by the Governor-General in Council, was addressed, so far as form goes, only to civil servants of the Company. It exhorted them, and them alone, to abstain from excessive and indiscriminate severity. The law of May, passed under the stress of a great emergency, had given almost unlimited power over life and limb to executive officers of the Government, who were not all equally wise. The massacres of Meerut, Delhi, and Cawnpore, to mention only the chief, had so infuriated Anglo-Indian society that it seemed the most natural thing in the world to shoot a Sepoy on sight, or to hang him as soon as he was caught. If ever revengeful feelings were anywhere justifiable, India was the place, and the summer of 1857 the time. But the Governor-General had to take long views. Never doubting for a moment that the Mutiny would be put

"Clemency Canning."

down, and the supremacy of England restored, he wished to avoid the unnecessary exasperation of the people he would still have to rule. Many Sepoys whose regiments had for good cause to be disbanded were themselves loyal enough, and to punish them for the sins of others would have been the foulest injustice. Yet Lord Canning heard that such things were done, and it was his duty to stop them if he could. Another point to which his attention was directed was the mischief of needless harshness after order had been restored. The wholesale burning of villages was not only unfair but also impolitic, because it made the task of bringing back peace and tranquillity more difficult. These considerations Lord Canning did not shrink from enforcing upon those in authority under him at the very height of the great struggle, when Delhi had not yet been taken, and Lucknow was still in imminent peril. He drew down upon himself, as he probably knew that he would, a storm of obloquy, which found vent in angry petitions from Calcutta for his recall. But Lord Palmerston stood by him fearlessly, as was his wont, and foolish indeed would he have been if he had not. Time has long since cleared the reputation of Charles Canning from the strictures of nervous and disappointed rage. The highest qualities of a ruler, originality of conception and spontaneity of action, he lacked. But his spirit never quailed, and his humanity never slumbered, while panic was throwing those about him into alternate fits of ferocity and despair. 1857.

When Havelock left Cawnpore in charge of Neill, and crossed the Ganges on his way to Lucknow, he had with him no more than fifteen hundred men, chiefly drawn from the 78th Highlanders, the 1st Fusiliers, and the 6th Regiment of the Line. With them he speedily defeated the rebels at Havelock's march. July 29.

1857. Unao, captured Busherutgunge, and took nineteen guns. But he could go no further. Such was the strength of the mutineers in Oude, and such was the force with which they surrounded its capital, that even Havelock, writing to the Commander-in-

Aug. 2. Chief from Mungalwar, said, "To advance on Lucknow would be to court annihilation." Twice again did his undaunted force beat the enemy at

Aug. 18, he has to fall back on Cawnpore. Busherutgunge, and then Havelock fell back on Cawnpore. He had contrived to communicate with Colonel Inglis at Lucknow, suggesting that Inglis should withdraw his garrison and fight his way down to Cawnpore. But Inglis gave conclusive reasons why he could not do so. They were very sad reasons. He had in his garrison a hundred and twenty sick or wounded, two hundred and twenty women, and two hundred and thirty children. Upon half rations they could hold out till the 10th of September. They managed to hold

Joined by Outram. out longer. It was not till the 16th that Sir James Outram, for whom Havelock had been waiting, arrived at Cawnpore, and the joint march of the two Generals began. Outram was entitled to the command by superiority of rank. But with unprecedented chivalry he surrendered his right to his junior, and accompanied the expedition as a volunteer. Havelock again crossed the Ganges on the 19th and 20th of September, having with him this time one infantry and two cavalry brigades. Total, two thousand five hundred men, with seventeen cannon. On the 21st the rebels were routed at Mungalwar, when Outram himself headed a cavalry charge, and took two guns.

Reinforcement of Lucknow, Sept. 25. Four days afterwards Havelock and Outram fought their way into Lucknow. So desperate was the conflict that Outram, than whom a braver man never lived, wished to halt in the suburbs till morning. But the grim deter-

mination of Havelock carried him away, and, led by both Generals, the 78th rushed the Residency, in Havelock's words, "through streets of flat-roofed, loop-holed houses, from which a perpetual fire was kept up." The operation, said Havelock, required ten thousand men, and he had little more than a fifth of that number. He lost five hundred officers and soldiers, including General Neill, killed by a bullet at the head of his troops. But though Outram and Havelock had got into Lucknow, they could not get out again. They had only reinforced the garrison, not relieved it, and they were themselves now besieged. Still, Delhi had fallen, Havelock had been a score of times victorious, the rebels, except in Oude, were losing heart, and all this had been achieved without the help of a single soldier from England. Seldom even in the annals of the British Army had such brilliant triumphs been won in circumstances so discouraging against such enormous odds.

1857.

Death of Neill.

The earliest reinforcements for India left England on the 1st of July. But it was not till the beginning of October that they began to arrive at Calcutta in any considerable numbers, and it was the third week in December before they had all been sent up to the Central Provinces. Although it is true that between the beginning of July and the end of September eighty ships and twenty thousand men had been despatched, the Government cannot be acquitted of undue delay. Precious weeks were lost by the unpardonable blundering of Sir Charles Wood, the First Lord of the Admiralty, who persisted in his singular belief that sailing vessels were faster than steamers. But in one point at all events Her Majesty's Ministers made no mistake. They chose the right man to reconquer India. Sir Colin Campbell landed at Calcutta on the 14th of August, and at once assumed

Despatch of troops from England.

Sir Charles Wood's blunder.

Arrival of Sir Colin Campbell.

1857. command of the whole Indian army. His first and most imperative duty was to relieve Lucknow. But for nearly three months he was unable to march, not having with him a sufficient force. At last, on the 9th of November, he started, and after that he did not lose a moment. In a Nov. 17. week he was before Lucknow, and the next day the necessary breach was made in the walls. The fighting was hardly, if at all, less desperate than when Havelock, now Sir Henry Havelock, K.C.B., and Outram forced their way into the town. The The relief of Lucknow. place was carried by storm, the troops engaged being the 93rd Highlanders, the 4th Punjab Infantry, and the 53rd, with a battalion of detachments commanded by Major Barnston of the 90th Foot. The heavy guns of the Naval Brigade did great execution upon the massive stone walls of the domed mosque which the enemy had converted into a fortress. These guns were directed by Captain Peel of the *Shannon*, created for his Services of Captain Peel. services Sir William Peel, third son of the great Sir Robert, and one of England's naval heroes. Captain Peel's "extraordinary gallantry" was specifically mentioned, even in that day of great things, by Sir Colin Campbell, who described the action of the Naval Brigade as "almost unexampled in war." "Captain Peel," added the tough old Highlander, "behaved very much as if he had been laying the *Shannon* alongside an enemy's frigate." But it was impossible for Sir Colin, with the force at his disposal, to hold Lucknow. All he could Withdrawal of the garrison. do was to withdraw the English garrison. This operation was successfully and very skilfully performed, while the enemy were distracted by a bombardment such as would precede an assault. Nov. 22. At midnight the garrison marched safely out through the lines of the pickets after the removal of the sick and wounded, the women and children.

At four in the morning of the 23rd, the whole force encamped in the Dilkoosha beyond the enemy's lines. There, on the same day, worn out with privation and fatigue, died Sir Henry Havelock, unknown twelve months before to the bulk of his countrymen, never to be forgotten by Englishmen while England endures. "There does not," said the Governor-General in Council, "there does not stand recorded in the annals of war a more truly heroic achievement than the defence of the Residency at Lucknow." These few and simple words are perhaps the most fitting comment upon an episode in Anglo-Indian history that can derive no additional lustre even from the famous lines of Tennyson. 1857.

But Sir Colin Campbell's task was by no means accomplished, and he could not afford to wait. Indeed the crisis was even more urgent than he supposed. On the very day when he set out for Cawnpore, with the rescued garrison under his charge, General Windham of the Redan, who had recently arrived from England, was defeated on the Pandoo Nuddee by a large body of rebels, who proceeded to occupy Cawnpore. They did not remain there long. As soon as Sir Colin Campbell could get up he drove them out, took their guns, and hoisted the British flag again. Upon this occasion, as at the relief of Lucknow, Captain Peel and his Naval Brigade distinguished themselves by the vigour of their attack. The gradual but sure restoration of British authority encouraged the native Princes to make a display of friendliness for the paramount Power. The two most warlike races of India are the Ghoorkas and the Sikhs. Thanks mainly to Sir John Lawrence, the Sikhs of the Punjab were loyal, and the Maharajah of Nepaul's Chief Minister, Jung Bahadur, sent ten thousand Ghoorkas to co-operate

Defeat of General Windham.

Reoccupation of Cawnpore by Sir Colin.

Loyalty of native Princes.

1857. Contingent of Ghoorkas.

with Sir Colin Campbell in the recovery of the North-West Provinces. The issue was no longer doubtful, and the reduction of Oude, which still remained to be accomplished, was only a question of time.

CHAPTER VIII

THE FALL OF PALMERSTON'S GOVERNMENT

THE invectives against Lord Canning uttered in India were repeated in England, and though complete justice has since been done to his memory, it was otherwise during the autumn of 1857. On Lord Mayor's Day, not an hour too soon, Lord Palmerston spoke up manfully and well for the pilot who had weathered the storm. There was much in this speech of Palmerston's, especially his tribute to the wonderful courage and endurance of the Englishwomen at Cawnpore and Lucknow, which met with universal approval. And if the tone in which he spoke of events in India was more boastful than dignified, the prevailing temper of the public mind was quite ready to make allowance for that. But unfortunately Lord Palmerston could not resist the temptation to have his fling at the French. There was no occasion for it. Greville, a very shrewd observer of events, as well abroad as at home, writes in his diary for the 11th of November, "It is at once creditable to other countries and honourable to us that no disposition has been shown in any quarter to act differently towards us, or to avail themselves of what they may suppose to be our weakness and difficulty; but, on the contrary, the same consideration and deference has been shown to us as if there had been no Indian outbreak to absorb our resources." Yet Palmerston chose this moment

1857.

Palmerston's speech at the Guildhall, Nov. 9.

His attack on the French.

1857. to inform the world that taking advantage of our alleged weakness would not be a safe game to play. No one wanted to play it. The French Emperor had voluntarily offered to let British troops pass through France on their way to India. Palmerston recorded in his pocket-book,[1] with his usual complacency, that this speech gave much offence at Compiègne, that it could not be helped, and that it was only the truth which wounded. A strange reason for telling it when there was absolutely no other. The result of the Indian Mutiny, never doubtful after the fall of Delhi, was certainly not to lower the military reputation of England, or to foster a belief in her declining strength. On the contrary, all Europe perceived that England had Generals whose names were unknown in the Crimea, and that she could put down single-handed a rebellion of the most formidable kind without reducing the numbers of her army at home.

Financial panic.

Now that the immediate strain of the Mutiny was over, the public had leisure to reflect upon more prosaic matters. The autumn of 1857 was a period of commercial crisis. There were numerous failures of banks in the United States, where a great many people, in the flush of recent prosperity, had been living too fast, and the panic which destroys credit crossed the Atlantic Ocean. The experience of ten years before was repeated with more intensity, and on a larger scale. Both in England and in Scotland insolvency was prevalent, and distress was great. The three largest concerns that foundered were the Borough Bank of Liverpool, the Western Bank of Scotland, and the City of Glasgow Bank. The financial atmosphere was reflected in that barometer of British credit, the Bank of England, and things were even worse than they had been ten years before. In 1847 the

[1] Ashley's *Life*, vol. ii. p. 140.

Directors of the Bank had raised the rate of discount to eight per cent. In 1857 they raised it to ten. In 1847 the stock of bullion in the cellars of the Bank was reduced to eight millions sterling. In 1857 it was reduced to seven millions. Throughout October there was much uneasiness in the City, and on the 12th of November a letter from Downing Street to Threadneedle Street, signed by the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer, authorised the issue of notes not exceeding two millions beyond the fourteen millions prescribed by the Bank Charter Act of 1844. In 1847 a similar permission was given, but not used. In 1857 it was used as well as given. As the law had been broken, an Act of Indemnity was required, and Parliament had to be summoned. That which the Indian Mutiny did not necessitate followed as a matter of course from a slight, and almost imperceptible, addition to the indebtedness of the Bank. 1857.

There ensued the familiar and inevitable controversy about the policy of Peel's Act, which Lord Overstone, its other author, defended in the House of Peers. It seems a paradox, but it appears nevertheless to be true, that the Bank Charter Act, which deals with currency, and not with banking, avoids and mitigates panics, although, when they come, the Act is suspended. The objects of the Statute, which no one now proposes to repeal, are three. The first is to prevent the Bank of England, with which the commercial credit of the country is inseparably bound up, from issuing notes not covered by Government securities and bullion. The second is to keep the issue department and the banking department of this great national institution distinct. The third is to restrict banks of issue, or at least to prevent them from expanding. It is a fallacy that the Act does not guard against panics, because panics bring about a suspension of the Act. Revival of the case against the Bank Charter Act.

1857. They might, and in the judgment of the best financiers they probably would, be both severer and more frequent if the Act were repealed. When the Bill of Indemnity had been passed, the Government proposed the reappointment of the Currency Committee which had sat during the previous session, and carried their point against the united resistance of Mr. Gladstone and Mr. Disraeli, the only two unofficial members who had been Chancellors of the Exchequer. The alliance was confined to voting in the same lobby. For while Mr. Gladstone would have strengthened the Act, Mr. Disraeli would have swept it away. The cool passionless intelligence of Cornewall Lewis was very effective in the House of Commons, and as not more than a dozen men in the House understood the subject, the rest were easily persuaded that it required examination by a Committee. This Committee settled the question, and the prejudice against the Bank Charter Act died away. The latest and most formidable critic of the Statute was John Stuart Mill, who, in his evidence before the Committee, dealing with the separation of the banking from the issue department, said that it was "as if a man having to lift a weight were restricted from using both hands to do it, and were only allowed to use one hand at a time, in which case it would be necessary that each of his hands should be as strong as the two together." The analogy, however, fails, because the two departments of the Bank are not adapted for acting together, like the two hands of a man. The solvency of the Bank of England is a national interest, and the immediate convertibility of its paper is as important as the maintenance of the metallic standard. It is expedient, and has proved practicable, that the Government should secure the Bank, and should impose proper restrictions in return. In

1857 the crisis, though severe, was short. The loan, for it was a loan, had been repaid before Parliament met, and by February the commercial world was in its normal state. 1857.

The only other business done before Christmas, except the introduction by Lord John Russell of another Bill for the relief of the Jews, was the grant of a pension to Sir Henry Havelock. The Government proposed a thousand pounds a year for life. The Opposition described the grant as inadequate, and the country agreed with the Opposition. What, asked one member, was the actuarial value of an annuity on a man's life who was besieged in Lucknow? Lord Palmerston, who, though not sentimental, was never mean, yielded at once, and the pension was granted for two lives with all the more readiness because young Havelock[1] had won the Victoria Cross. *Sunt lacrimae rerum.* While Parliament was debating the hero's merits, the hero himself was lying in an Indian grave. Havelock's pension.

On the subject of India the Queen's Speech, an unusually ill written document, was confused and obscure. It contained also the promise of a Reform Bill, and a paragraph on foreign affairs which struck Lord Derby's sense of humour with peculiar force. "The nations of Europe," it ran, "are in the enjoyment of profound peace, which nothing seems likely to disturb." Lord Derby observed that no satisfaction was expressed at this pacific outlook, but rather annoyance and disappointment. He added that if any one could disturb the peace of Europe it would be Palmerston. Perhaps the jest was not altogether suited to the sombre circumstances of the time, which Lord Derby himself described as without a parallel in his political experience of six and thirty years. But as a Parliamentary Lord Derby on Palmerston's foreign policy.

[1] Familiar to a later generation as Sir Henry Havelock-Allan, a brilliant speaker, and a somewhat eccentric Member of Parliament.

1857. hit it was excellent, and after the speech at the Guildhall it was thoroughly well deserved.

Lord Elgin in China. On the other hand the Opposition showed less wisdom when they taunted Lord Palmerston in the debate on the Address with the alleged failure of his policy in China, and the supposed triumph of Governor Yeh. Against the merits of that policy, notwithstanding the result of the General Election, they had a strong case. Unsuccessful in the obvious and material sense it was not, and the check which the Indian Mutiny gave it had already, as they might have known, been removed. Lord Elgin remained at Calcutta in consultation with Lord Canning from the 8th of August to the 3rd of September, when he took his departure, leaving the troops of which he had voluntarily deprived himself to be the nucleus of Sir Colin Campbell's army, and arrived in a week at Hong Kong. There he awaited for more than a month the coming of his French colleague, Baron Gros, who joined him on the 16th of October. A fresh force was despatched to him from England, of which General Straubenzee took command, General Ashburnham having been left in India. It was not, however, till the 12th of December that the British Plenipotentiary accomplished the difficult task of framing his Ultimatum to Governor Yeh. The difficulty was not due to external circumstances, but inherent in the mission itself. Baron Gros was not conspicuous for ability, or decision of character, and he was quite willing to put himself in the stronger hands of Lord Elgin. The representative of the United States, Mr. Read, though ostensibly neutral, was in truth sympathetic, and even the representative of Russia ranged himself on this occasion with the Western Powers. But Lord Elgin did not like his job. He was not the man to shrink from strong measures when strong

Joined by Baron Gros.

measures were required, and he had shown in Canada that he could act with firmness in grave emergencies. But he was inflexibly just, and the very weakness of China made him scrutinise with peculiar care the validity of the claims against her. His letters to his wife, a faithful picture of a most interesting mind, show the repugnance with which he took up a quarrel he would never have made. "I have hardly alluded," he writes to Lady Elgin, "in my Ultimatum to that wretched question of the *Arrow*, which is a scandal to us, and is so considered, I have reason to know, by all except the few who are personally compromised."[1] These words from Lord Palmerston's own envoy are an ample justification of Mr. Cobden, and of the majority who supported him in the House of Commons. Leaving then the *Arrow*, the *fons et origo mali*, on one side, the Ultimatum demanded the fulfilment of the Treaty of Nankin, which gave Europeans free right of access to Canton, and the payment of compensation for losses incurred by British subjects in the recent local outbreaks. Governor Yeh was allowed ten days for his reply, but he was informed that in the meantime the island of Honan would be held, with the river forts, like the Danubian Principalities in 1853, as a material guarantee. Lord Elgin's earnest hope that Yeh would yield to the presence of superior force was disappointed. The reply was ambiguous, barely intelligible, but it was certainly not an acceptance of the terms. Then Lord Elgin perceived that he would have to order the bombardment of an almost defenceless town, and his feelings are best described in his own language. "I never," he wrote, "felt so ashamed of myself in my life. . . . I thought bitterly of those who for the most selfish

1857.

Lord Elgin's moderation.

His opinion of the *Arrow*.

[1] *Lord Elgin's Letters and Journals*, edited by Theodore Walrond, p. 207.

1857. His distaste for strong measures. Dec. 28.

objects are trampling under foot this ancient civilisation."[1] He contrived to postpone action till after Christmas Day, but on the festival of the Holy Innocents the bombardment began. "I hate the whole thing so much," said Lord Elgin that very morning, "that I cannot trust myself to write about it." Happily Sir Michael Seymour knew his business, and confined his fire, so far as was possible, to the forts. Happily also the Chinese made no real resistance. Indeed, the inhabitants pursued their customary avocations as if nothing had happened, and the allied troops entered Canton in a capacity which an international lawyer would have been puzzled to define. For if there was no resistance, there was no surrender, and a possible tragedy had turned into a broad farce. The Commandant of the City was formally made a prisoner, and then politely requested to resume his functions, which he did. The unfortunate Yeh, however, fell a victim to the need for maintaining the dignity of the expedition, and was sent on board the *Inflexible* to Calcutta, where he soon afterwards died. He was said, on good authority, to have put down a native rebellion with extreme harshness, and the state of the prisons in Canton, for which he may have been responsible, left, like the prisons of King Bomba at Naples, much to be desired. But Yeh's crime in the eyes of Lord Palmerston was the refusal of Sir John Bowring's unwarrantable demands, and it is an instructive commentary upon the whole of this Chinese case as presented to Parliament, that Mr. Burns, a British missionary, whose wrongs figured prominently in the "Insults" Blue Book, acknowledged himself, in conversation with Lord Elgin, to have been "very kindly treated" by the Chinese authorities.

1858. Jan. 5, Anglo-French occupation of Canton.

[1] *Lord Elgin's Letters and Journals*, edited by Theodore Walrond, pp. 212–213.

But before the fall of Canton was known in England, political changes of great importance had occurred. Lord Palmerston was in an aggressively arrogant mood. Always personally good-humoured, he was yet capable of a swaggering insolence harmless enough in his private letters, but not very agreeable to the thinking part of the nation, and highly distasteful to the House of Commons. When Mr. Disraeli once reminded him that he was not merely Leader of the House, which was an accident of life, but a gentleman, the cheers did not all come from the benches of the Opposition. Palmerston always believed in his luck, except on the turf, where it was curiously bad, and the elections of 1857 turned his head. He thought he could do anything he liked, and he proceeded to tempt Providence, or, in more homely language, to try it on. At the close of the year Lord Harrowby, the Lord Privy Seal, retired from the Government on account of his health, and Palmerston appointed as his successor the Marquess of Clanricarde. The last duty of an historian is to revive forgotten scandal. Still it is impossible to explain the political crisis of 1858 without some reference to this amazing appointment. The office of Privy Seal is a sinecure, and Lord Clanricarde, who was not much below the average of Whig placemen in his time, had an undoubted power of making himself disagreeable to his political friends when they left him out of their combinations. He claimed also, though apparently without much ground, to have some influence over Irish members of Parliament. But in January 1858 the Handcock case, not then three years old, was fresh in the public recollection, and decent people were shocked to see the patron of Josephine Kelly made a confidential adviser of the Queen. If the charge against Lord Clanricarde had been merely such as now come

1858.

Palmerston's arrogance.

His appointment of Lord Clanricarde.

1858. before the Divorce Court, the storm might have blown over. As a matter of fact, they were mixed up with matters which would now engage the attention of the Probate Court, and the general result was very ugly indeed. So long ago as 1852 the Queen had absolutely declined to sanction Lord Clanricarde's appointment as her Ambassador at Paris, and it would have been well for Palmerston if Her Majesty had been equally firm on this occasion. For the outburst of public indignation was most emphatic, and if the Government had remained in power, a vote of censure on the appointment would almost certainly have been carried in the House of Commons.

Conservative attack on Lord Canning.

The first Administration of Lord Palmerston had seldom much to fear from the tactics of its opponents, who were divided in council, feeble in criticism, and in policy irresolute. Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli both made the grave blunder of attacking Lord Canning, and suggested his exclusion from the Vote of Thanks proposed by the Government to civilians as well as soldiers concerned in the suppression of the Mutiny. They did not venture in either House to move the omission of the Governor-General's name. But they referred to a petition which had come from Calcutta asking for his recall; they insinuated that he was on his trial; and Mr. Disraeli went so far as to move the previous question,[1] though he did not go so far as to vote for it. Now Lord Canning was at that moment engaged in repelling the most serious attempt ever made to destroy the power of England in the East. That the issue could no longer be regarded as doubtful, and that Parliament could thank him for a victory achieved, was due in no small degree to his courage, his calmness,

[1] The previous question gets rid of a motion on the ground that it should not be put at that time.

and his wisdom. Even those who twisted evidence to connect this military revolt with the policy of Lord Dalhousie could not pretend to connect it with the policy of Lord Canning. And as to the charge that he ought to have foreseen what occurred, it was expecting from a year's residence in India a power of divination not conferred by lifelong experience upon officers in the army, or commissioners in the civil service. Lord Canning did not lack chivalrous champions, of whom the most eloquent was, among private members, Henry Drummond, and, among Ministers, the Duke of Argyll. But their services should not have been required. For Lord Derby had nothing better to go upon than the gossip of Calcutta, and the malignity of a Press which had denounced Havelock as a "worn-out red-tapist," unfit for command. 1858.

The detraction of Lord Canning was not extinguished by his death, but it has long been extinguished by his fame. It was his good fortune to have the double opportunity of vindicating English mercy and English power. The punishment inflicted on the mutineers was necessarily severe. But Lord Canning prevented it from being either reckless or vindictive. No good object could be served by recalling the proposals made in the fury of a natural resentment by politicians, by public writers, by ministers of religion, and even by Lord Derby. Lord Canning paid no heed to the cry for vengeance. He exacted stern justice, but he did not go one inch beyond it, and time has shown that his measures were sufficient. The practice of blowing Sepoys from guns was horrible in the sense of inspiring horror, which was its purpose. But among methods of inflicting death it is far from being the most cruel, and not far from being the most humane. The wretched old King of Delhi, decrepit and imbecile, escaped with his life.

The punishment of mutineers.

1858. He was tried in his own Palace by five British officers, convicted of incitement to murder, and banished to Rangoon. If the horrors of the Mutiny be placed on one side, and the punishment of the mutineers on the other, it must be acknowledged by fair-minded foreigners that no taint of cruelty or ferocity rests upon the reputation of England. Among those who, besides the Governor-General, received the thanks of Parliament were Sir Colin Campbell, who reconquered India; Sir John Lawrence, who saved Delhi and the Punjab; Sir James Outram, who gave up to Havelock the honour of commanding the first expedition to Lucknow; and Sir Archdale Wilson, who commanded at the taking of Delhi, though he could hardly be said to have taken it. On the other hand, red tape precluded all mention of an officer so low in rank as Captain Peel.

The transfer of Indian government.

The Mutiny was regarded by the Cabinet as a sufficient reason for dethroning the East India Company, and placing Her Majesty's Indian possessions under the direct control of the Crown. They were undoubtedly right. But they were undoubtedly also precipitate. The capital of Oude was still in the hands of the mutineers when Lord

Feb. 12. Palmerston introduced his Bill for the Better Government of India. Rapid as the Premier was, the Chairs had been beforehand with him, and had

The Company's Petition. presented their Petition to the House of Lords, where it received the able support of Lord Grey. This Petition was drawn with temperate dignity, and with consummate skill, by the first English philosopher of his age. John Stuart Mill, then Examiner at the India House, had been in the service of the Company for more than thirty years, and had for more than twenty years conducted the correspondence of the Company with native chiefs. A thorough master of his subject, he put forward

the best case for the Company which could possibly have been made. He pointed out that British India had grown up under their auspices, and that since 1833 they had ceased altogether to be a commercial body. He showed that they were not irresponsible, because the President of the India Board could alter their despatches, and could even force them to substitute one of his own. He urged that the public opinion of England was very ill-informed upon Indian subjects, that those who took most interest in India had usually private ends of their own to serve, and that such persons would find it much easier to exercise pressure upon a purely political Department than upon Directors who were not guided by political considerations. Finally, with singular adroitness, he turned to the advantage of the Company the very origin of the Mutiny itself. Out of what, he asked, had it arisen? Out of an unfounded apprehension that England would interfere with their social and religious customs. The Company had scrupulously abstained from such interference. But there was a loud outcry for forcing western civilisation upon the natives, and to this a Minister for India would inevitably yield. There was an obvious inconsistency in arguing that the disestablishment of the India House would introduce the panic which had already caused the Mutiny, and British India was really the work of four or five great men, from Clive and Hastings through the Wellesleys to the Lawrences and Dalhousie. The intense Conservatism of the Petition, coming from an advanced Radical like Mill, is a curious and instructive example of the attachment to their own systems and methods which prevails among all classes of Englishmen. 1858.

Another interesting feature of this discussion is that the most comprehensive reply to the philo-

1858.

Cornewall Lewis's reply.

sopher of the India House came from the philosopher of the Cabinet. Sir George Cornewall Lewis, whose intellectual caution was equalled by his moral courage, boldly assailed Mill's premisses as well as his conclusions. He declared that the worst period of mis-rule in the history of British India was the interval between the battle of Plassey in 1757, when the Company acquired Sovereign Power, and the passing of Pitt's East India Act in 1784, when the Directors were placed under the Board of Control. In short, the gist of his argument was that the oppression of India had been due to the Company, and its emancipation to the Crown. But it may perhaps be doubted whether these historical assertions and denials had much influence upon the House of Commons. They were suitable rather to a debating society than to an assembly of British Legislators, concerned, not with the reasons why Warren Hastings was impeached, but with the reasons why the method of governing India should be amended.

The conflict of authority.

The practical inconvenience, described in Palmerston's off-hand manner, of the conflicting jurisdiction between the India House in Leadenhall Street, and the India Board in Cannon Row, was not to be explained away. The transport of troops to India in the summer of 1857, when every moment was precious, could not be accomplished by the Admiralty or the War Office without the consent and approval of the Directors. The Directors had the sole power of recalling the Governor-General, and they had exercised it most properly in the case of Lord Ellenborough. They had a veto on his appointment. They could not legally refuse to sign a despatch drawn up by the President of the Board of Control. Yet in one case they had actually refused, and challenged the Government to apply for a *mandamus*, which they

would rather go to prison than obey. The Government yielded, and they were not put to that test. But a system, or rather a chaos, under which such an unseemly conflict was possible, could not be seriously defended, and might have led to worse results than the Mutiny. Five years before, in 1853, the Government of Lord Aberdeen had it in contemplation to put India directly under the Crown. It was a year when the Company's Charter fell to be renewed, and Ministers were pressed in Parliament to take that course. They did not take it, perhaps because they were passing under the shadow of the Russian War. But they gave the Company a friendly warning. They renewed the Charter, not, as had been the practice, for twenty years, but only during such time as Parliament should think fit; they threw open the Civil Service of India to competition; and they added to the Board of Directors six nominees of the Crown. How long the Company would have lasted without the Mutiny no human being can precisely tell. But the sands in the glass had nearly run, and the Mutiny only fixed the date of an inevitable change. 1858.

Palmerston's India Bill.

The Bill provided that the government of India should be transferred to a President and a Council. The President would sit in the Cabinet, and would rank with the Secretaries of State. He would have a Parliamentary Secretary, sitting in the House of Commons. There would be eight members of Council, appointed for eight years, incapable of election to Parliament, who must have served or resided in India. The President would have power to over-ride the opinion of the Council. But if he did so, the Councillors, or the majority of them, would have the right of recording their dissent. Members of the Executive Council in India would in future be appointed by the Governor-General.

1858. These were the simple outlines of Lord Palmerston's Bill, succinctly described by its opponents as "handing over the government of India to Vernon Smith." So unpopular did it appear to be that the Conservative party took the unusual course of dividing against its introduction. To say that the Government of the Queen should not be allowed to lay before Parliament a measure which they considered essential for the future interests of India touched the extreme limits of what was constitutionally legitimate. It must, however, be admitted that the Opposition took up the only ground on which such a proceeding can be justified. The amendment joined issue on the question whether any Indian Bill at all was at that time required, and it is really the one point which can profitably be discussed before a Bill has been printed in black and blue. They chose their mover well. Mr. Thomas Baring carried much weight in the City, and was highly respected in the House. The least factious of men, he could not be supposed to have any other motive than a regard for public interests as he understood them. But his task was an impossible one. To criticise the Bill would have been easy, and it was difficult to deny that the Government had rushed into legislation with undue haste. But to decline all consideration of their proposals would have been outrageous, and after three nights' debate leave to bring in the Bill was granted by 318 votes against 173. After the division, Lord Palmerston walked home with his Attorney-General and toady in chief, Sir Richard Bethell. Sir Richard told the Prime Minister that he ought, like a Roman consul at a triumph, to be accompanied by a slave who would remind him of his mortality.[1] The very next night the slave made his appearance, effectively disguised as Mr. Milner Gibson.

Its reception.

Feb. 18, its introduction.

[1] Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 142.

1858.

Orsini's attempt upon the French Emperor.

About a month before, on the 14th of January 1858, as the Emperor and Empress of the French were driving to the opera, three explosive bombs were thrown in rapid succession at their carriage in the Rue Lepelletier. Neither of the two Sovereigns was hurt. But some twenty persons were wounded, of whom six died. The consequences of this crime, itself the result of a careful and elaborate plot, were momentous, and the most important of them so nearly concerned this country that it must hereafter be set forth in full. The immediate effect of it was to bring France and England within measurable distance of war. The chief conspirator, Felice Orsini, had been imprisoned by the Austrian Government at Mantua, and the conspiracy was essentially Italian. Orsini and his accomplices were members of a secret society called the Carbonari, formed for the liberation of Italy, to which Louis Napoleon had himself in his youth belonged. The real object of the crime was to punish the Emperor for abandoning the Italian cause. Unfortunately the bombs were manufactured at Birmingham, and all the arrangements for the assassination of the Emperor were made in England. Only one Englishman, an insignificant person who absconded, was implicated in the plot, and the different parts of the bombs were made by mechanics who knew nothing of the purpose for which they were intended. Nevertheless there broke out in France, especially in the French army, a storm of indignation against England as the harbour and nursery of assassins. The sole foundation for this outcry (justification it had none) was the laxity of the English law. The Government of England, unlike the Governments of Continental States, had no power to expel any one, native or alien, from English soil, and no foreigner could be tried in England for a crime

Discovery that Orsini's bombs were made in England.

French feeling against England.

1858. committed abroad. Conspiracy to murder, which might, of course, be completed in England though the murder itself was to have been perpetrated in France, was a misdemeanour, not a felony, punishable with a short term of imprisonment. In their addresses of congratulation to the Emperor on his escape the Colonels of the French regiments denounced England with the utmost violence, and their wildly offensive language was published, with imperial sanction, in the official *Moniteur*. One regiment, the 82nd, begged that it might be allowed "to get at these men, even in the recesses of their dens," and the French Senate, a spiritless body of courtiers, demanded that laws which permitted such conspiracies to be hatched should at once be changed. Of course the backs of the English people, who seldom accept rebukes with meekness, were up in a moment, and France was plainly told by the English Press that the sacred right of political asylum would not be surrendered to please a foreign despot.[1] For the vituperation of the French Colonels, one of whom proposed that "the infamous haunt in which machinations so infernal were hatched should be destroyed for ever," Count Walewski, in the name of the Emperor, formally apologised, and the apology was conveyed by Count Persigny to Lord Clarendon. It was explained that the Addresses were too numerous for the Emperor to read them all, and that some were published by inadvertence. It would be interesting, if that were so, to see the Addresses which were left out. But on the 20th of January Count Walewski, in a despatch to Lord Clarendon, complained that England allowed murder to be preached and practised under the sanction of the law.

Violence of the French Colonels.

Reply of the English Press.

The Emperor's explanation.

Walewski's despatch.

[1] The readers of *Beauchamp's Career* will remember that this was the occasion of Nevil Beauchamp's challenge to the officers of the French Guard.

"Ought then," he asked, putting an assertion in the form of a question, "ought the right of asylum to protect such a state of things? Is hospitality due to assassins? Should English legislation serve to favour their designs, and their manœuvres, and can it continue to protect persons who place themselves by flagrant acts without the pale of the common law, and expose themselves to the law of humanity?" English Ministers are not accustomed to be addressed in this hectoring tone, and it might have been thought that Palmerston was the last Minister to endure it patiently. But on this occasion Palmerston was strangely meek. No written answer was sent to Walewski's impudent despatch, and Lord Clarendon's oral reply did not go beyond the statement that England could never surrender the right of asylum. But worse followed. The Corporation of London voted a congratulatory address to the French Emperor through the French Ambassador, and Persigny, who never knew how to behave, surpassed himself in reply. He spoke as if he had been the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. He presented to the Government a dilemma. Either the law of England was sufficient to protect the Emperor of the French from his own subjects, or it was not. If it was sufficient, why was it not applied? If it was insufficient, why was it not altered?

1858.

Palmerston's silence.

Persigny's speech.

The proper answer to this anxious inquirer would have been the presentation of his passports. The laws of England were no business of his, and his master was a strange representative of law. Palmerston, however, yielded with surprising readiness to the remonstrances of France. He introduced a Bill to amend the law of conspiracy by imposing a special penalty for conspiracy to murder. Before that time in England and Scot-

The Conspiracy Bill.

Feb. 8.

1858. land conspiracy to murder, which in Ireland was a capital offence, did not differ from other conspiracies at common law, and could not be punished by a heavier sentence than imprisonment for two years. The Bill proposed to make it a felony, and to give the Judge the power of inflicting a sentence of penal servitude for life. To the intrinsic reasonableness of this change in the law, which the Attorney-General solemnly declared that he had contemplated before ever he heard of Orsini, it was hard to object. But the idea of passing an English statute at French dictation was repugnant to the English spirit, and Palmerston at last began to see breakers ahead. This Bill also was opposed on the first reading. Mr. Kinglake, the historian, who hated Louis Napoleon with a truly English hatred, and has depicted his character in a truly English style, was at that time Member for Bridgewater. He moved that it was inexpedient to legislate in compliance with Walewski's demands until the House had further knowledge of the communications between the two Governments after the despatch. This amendment was ultimately withdrawn, and leave to bring in the Bill was given by a majority of 200. But a division on a first reading can hardly, if favourable, be a test. There are always a number of men who want to see the Bill, whether they approve of it or not, and on this occasion the debate was not so satisfactory to the Government as the figures. Mr. Kinglake's spirited declaration that as Ministers had not answered the despatch, the House of Commons should answer it, was telling, and Lord John Russell inveighed against the measure with as much vigour as if he had been resisting the tyranny of James the Second.

Unpopularity of the Bill.

After the introduction of the Bill public feeling against it began to rise, and the numerous enemies

Lord Palmerston had made were not displeased to find something upon which they could concentrate their energies. This time the lead was taken by the Manchester School, the objects, by the way, of Mr. Kinglake's peculiar detestation. Mr. Milner Gibson, a very able, rather cynical, man of the world, had found a seat at Ashton-under-Lyme, and was ready, if not anxious, to take his revenge upon the Minister who had deprived him of his seat at Manchester. He moved an amendment, drawn by Lord John in consultation with Graham, and silently seconded by Bright, which was a masterpiece of Parliamentary tactics. Though little more than an amplification of that which Mr. Kinglake had withdrawn, it was yet so artfully constructed as to censure the Government without destroying the Bill. It was very long, very argumentative, and divided into paragraphs. It expressed concern for the fact that the attempt on the French Emperor's life had been devised in England, and readiness to supply defects in the criminal law. Then came the sting in the tail, and the House was asked to express its regret that the Government had not answered the French despatch, dated the 20th of January. It is said, and one can well believe, that Palmerston, with the instinct of the old Parliamentary hand, at once perceived this amendment to be dangerous. The highest living authority, Lord Eversley, thought that it was out of order, and should not have been put from the Chair, because it was irrelevant to the Bill. The only amendment which technically disposes of a measure is one putting off the actual stage to a date after the end of the session. Argumentative amendments, which have not that effect, are indeed often moved. But they almost invariably commit the House to an opinion inconsistent with approval of the proposed legislation, and Mr. Gibson's did not.

1858.

Feb. 19, Milner Gibson's amendment.

Its irregularity.

1858. Any one could logically have voted first for the amendment, and secondly for the Bill. Lord Eversley's successor, however, Mr. Evelyn Denison, afterwards Lord Ossington, was not a strong Speaker, and he declined to interfere. Lord Palmerston argued with a great deal of force, that if any one had a right to complain of Count Walewski's despatch being unanswered, it was Count Walewski, who had not complained. But the House went with Mr. Walpole, who argued that not to reply was to admit Walewski's charges, and with Mr. Gladstone, who pronounced, with some rhetorical exaggeration, that the Bill would involve Parliament in "moral complicity with those who sought safety in repressive measures." Mr. Walpole was completely justified by Lord Clarendon, who stated
March 1. in the House of Lords that he could not dispute Walewski's assertions, because they were true. Disclosure of the infamous fact, officially denied but conclusively proved, that Louis Napoleon had paid the legacy left by his uncle to a wretch called Cantillon for attempting to murder the Duke of Wellington, greatly embittered English hatred of the Second Empire, and when the tellers returned to the House after the division, it was to Mr. Milner Gibson that the clerk handed the figures.
Defeat of the Government. The majority against the Government was 19. For the second time within a year, Lord Palmerston had been defeated in the House of Commons. This time dissolution was obviously impossible,
Resignation of Lord Palmerston. and he at once resigned. Few things in the political history of the last century are more curious than this sudden and unexpected collapse of a large majority returned only a few months before to support a particular man. At the General Election of 1852 the name of Lord Aberdeen, the coming Premier, was not before the country in any way. At the General Election of

1857 Lord Palmerston was emphatically the man of the people. The true explanation of the rapid change is that Palmerston, though he never lost his head, became insufferably arrogant, and abused the confidence reposed in him. The House of Commons at that time had a very strong corporate spirit, and resented insolence or dictation from any quarter. In his reply at the close of the debate the Prime Minister made a bitter personal attack upon Mr. Gibson, which was very ill received. The division was a lesson to him, and like a sensible man he learned it. The old domineering temper reached its climax in 1857 and 1858. After 1858 it was very rarely shown. 1858.

CHAPTER IX

THE TORY INTERREGNUM

1858. THE first Administration of Lord Derby was overthrown by the union of Whigs and Peelites which coalesced in the Government of Lord Aberdeen. His second Administration was formed and sustained by the discordance of the Liberal party. Lord Derby is said[1] to have sat under the gallery of the House of Commons during the debate on Mr. Gibson's amendment, and to have sent Mr. Disraeli word that the time had come for striking a decisive blow. This may explain Mr. Disraeli's opposition to a Bill which he had previously supported. But it is, on the other hand, difficult to reconcile with Lord Derby's extreme reluctance to accept office when the Queen sent for him. To pressure from Her Majesty, however, he yielded, and he did his best to form a strong Cabinet, though without success. He applied to Mr. Gladstone, of whom he had the highest opinion; to Lord Grey, whose permanent exclusion from office was a singular, though not an inexplicable, phænomenon; and to the Duke of Newcastle, who was more unpopular than he deserved to be. They all refused, though Mr. Gladstone was entreated, strange as it may seem, by Mr. Disraeli to take the Board of Control. But no Peelite would sit in the Cabinet with Disraeli.

Lord Derby's second Government.

His overtures.

[1] Ashley's *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 146.

He was the insuperable obstacle to getting recruits outside the Conservative party. So Lord Derby once more formed a purely Conservative Cabinet, and the caste was with few exceptions the same as in 1852. Difficulties, real or imaginary, about his seat for Hertfordshire, excluded Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton. But the Colonial Office, which he would have had, was given to a far more practical statesman, the Prime Minister's son, Lord Stanley. Lord St. Leonards, a consummate master of equitable jurisprudence, refused office on account of his advanced age. Lord Cranworth's successor was Sir Frederick Thesiger, created Lord Chelmsford, a clever and agreeable member of society, less famous for his law than for his wit. But the worst choice Lord Derby made was the appointment of Lord Ellenborough, whom at this great crisis he put at the head of Indian affairs. Lord Ellenborough had one accomplishment, and one only. He was a brilliant Parliamentary speaker. Of tact, temper, judgment, and discretion he was utterly destitute. It was forgotten that he had been President of the Board of Control in the first brief Ministry of Sir Robert Peel. It was remembered that he had been the worst Governor-General ever known in India, excepting his Whig predecessor, Lord Auckland. There was a special reason for not sending him back to the India Board now, because he had indulged in a series of ungenerous and unfounded reflections upon Lord Canning. Bad as the appointment was, however, it brought with it an adequate retribution.

1858.

His new colleagues.

Lord Stanley.

Lord Chelmsford.

Lord Ellenborough.

Lord Derby met the House of Lords as Prime Minister with a speech exquisite in style and apologetic in tone. He twice dwelt upon his sense of personal unfitness, and in this he was evidently quite sincere. His difficulties were doubtless great. Our relations with France were severely,

March 1.

Ministerial difficulties.

1858. even perilously, strained. India was still disturbed, and the new Ministers did not conceal their want of confidence in Lord Canning, whom nevertheless they were afraid to recall. In China Lord Elgin was carrying out a policy which they had denounced, and against which they had voted. There was an India Bill to pass, and a Conspiracy Bill to get out of the way. Lord Derby declared that the broad distinctions of political parties no longer existed, and to the general surprise gratuitously promised a Reform Bill for the following year. His speech was not very encouraging to his supporters. He seemed to have lost his nerve, and he was certainly enfeebled by gout. But the fiery courage attributed to this picturesque notability was not of the species called moral.

Relations with France. The first task of the new Ministers was to make up the quarrel with France, and this they did at once, perhaps with less dignity than speed. Part of the work had been done for them. On the occasion of Lord Derby's opening statement Lord Clarendon delivered a personal explanation, about which the Premier in a letter to the Queen said with praiseworthy candour that if it had been made in the House of Commons before the division, there would have been no change of Government. When Lord Malmesbury for the second time entered the Foreign Office as its master, he found a despatch from Lord Cowley to Lord Clarendon, dated the 23rd of February, expressing Count Walewski's regret that his own despatch had been misunderstood. At this Lord Malmes-

March 4. bury jumped, and suggested in reply that Walewski must have misunderstood the law of England. It is one of the beauties of English law, that no benighted foreigner can ever understand it. A week later Walewski, who was of course the mere mouthpiece of the Emperor, declared, with char-

acteristic contempt for fact, that all he had meant in January was to stigmatise criminals, and that he now appealed to the loyalty of England. Next day Mr. Disraeli triumphantly assured the House of Commons that the difference with France had been removed. The House received the information without enthusiasm. It was indeed high time that something should be done, when twenty thousand persons were assembling in Hyde Park to cry "Down with France," and when the French Ambassador at the Foreign Office, his hand upon the sword of his court dress, had threatened the Foreign Secretary with war.[1] But though the right steps were taken, the manner of taking them left much to be desired. Lord Malmesbury had not a tithe of Lord Palmerston's or Lord Clarendon's skill in writing despatches, and he let it be seen that the Government were nervously anxious for a settlement on any terms which the House of Commons would allow. Happily the Emperor Napoleon was equally pacific, for reasons of his own, which afterwards became manifest. Happily also, rogues sometimes fall out, and Persigny quarrelled with Walewski, who recalled him. According to Lord Malmesbury, who on this point may be trusted, Persigny had made himself impossible. He had the impudence to resent the change of Ministry, and he repeated to Lord Palmerston his official conversations with the Secretary of State. Persigny was succeeded, much to the surprise of the diplomatic service, by Marshal Pélissier, Duke of Malakoff. This appointment turned out to be one of the wisest and happiest strokes that Louis Napoleon ever made. Pélissier was a plain, blunt soldier, who had risen from the ranks, and knew nothing about diplomacy. But he was thoroughly honest, a Marshal of France, and

1858.

The recall of Persigny.

April 15, appointment of Pélissier.

[1] Malmesbury's *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 106.

1858. by general consent the first man in the French army. He had been Lord Raglan's colleague; he had won the confidence of the British troops in the Crimea; and he was perhaps the one foreigner whom an English regiment would have spontaneously cheered. On his way to his first drawing-room he was enthusiastically applauded in the streets as the hero whose title suggested the capture of the Malakoff, and the fall of Sebastopol.

Pélissier did not come one moment too soon. For the relations between France and England were once more threatened with rupture. Before Lord Palmerston's Government left office, they had ordered the arrest and prosecution of Simon Bernard, a French doctor resident in London, for complicity in Orsini's plot. Bernard was committed for trial on the charge of conspiracy. But the new Law Officers of the Crown, Sir Fitzroy Kelly and Sir Hugh Cairns, taking a more serious view of the case, directed that a Bill for wilful murder should be sent up to the Grand Jury. The Grand Jury found a true Bill, and the Government issued a Special Commission to try Dr. Bernard at the Central Criminal Court, "making a Star Chamber matter of it," as Falstaff says. Four Judges sat to try Bernard, of whom three were superfluous, and the fourth, Lord Campbell, who presided, had expressed in Parliament an extra-judicial, not to say a prejudicial, opinion upon the law of the case. There was, however, no real doubt about the law, which Lord Campbell laid down at the trial with perfect accuracy and fairness. No alien could be removed from England by the Government, except under a Treaty of Extradition confirmed by Act of Parliament. It is true that there was a treaty of this kind with France. But Bernard's extradition was not demanded, and probably could not in the circum-

The trial of Simon Bernard.

stances have been granted, as it might be argued that his offence was a political one. On the other hand, all aliens living in this country are subject to its laws, and for the purposes of criminal justice Bernard's position was exactly the same as if he had been an Englishman. The technical offence for which the Crown indicted him was the murder of Nicholas Battye, a French soldier, and a victim of the explosion in the Rue Lepelletier. But there is no reason to suppose that the prisoner ever heard of Battye, and of course he was really on his trial for conspiracy to murder the Emperor of the French. When Bernard was put to the Bar, he refused, by the advice of his council, to acknowledge the jurisdiction of the Court, and a plea of not guilty was therefore entered. Asked whether he claimed the privilege of a mixed jury, half English and half foreigners, to which an alien was then entitled, he replied with much astuteness, "I trust with confidence to a jury of Englishmen." He had reason. The witnesses clearly proved that Bernard had been actively engaged in the construction of the bombs used with such disastrous effects on the 14th of January, and that he knew what was to be done with them as well as Orsini himself. But he was defended by Edwin James,[1] an extremely clever and entirely unscrupulous advocate, afterwards disbarred, who knew exactly the style of address that would draw away the minds of the jury from testimony he could not overthrow. His speech, a model of forensic artifice, was carefully divided into a real and a sham defence. The sham defence, which would not hold water for a moment, was that Bernard believed the bombs to be intended for an insurrectionary movement in Italy. The real defence was that the prisoner had been per-

1858.

April 9.

His defence.

[1] The *Cucedicus* of Thackeray's *Roundabout Papers*.

1858. secuted by a foreign despot, who had intimidated a British Government, and would like to intimidate a British jury. Without any intervention from the Bench, Mr. James traced the career of Louis Napoleon, himself formerly a refugee on British soil, and a conspirator against Louis Philippe. He described the crime of December, the massacres of Paris, the horrors of Cayenne. He dwelt upon the wilful and deliberate perjury which the French Emperor had committed in the sight of France, and in the name of God. He showed how, both as Emperor and as President, he had pulled down the Constitution he had sworn to defend, imprisoned the representatives of the people, gagged the Press, and destroyed the liberties of France. He told the whole story of the Conspiracy Bill, and he asked whether the jury-box would prove less independent than the House of Commons. The Emperor had stifled freedom in France. Would they allow him to stifle it in England? Never was a speech better adapted to the attainment of the speaker's end. To read it in cold blood at this distance of time is quite enough to make any one feel how the jury were carried away by it. The Lord Chief Justice summed up in favour of the prosecution. He could hardly have done otherwise. Nevertheless the jury acquitted the prisoner, and the Attorney-General wisely declined to proceed with the indictment for conspiracy. It would have been perfectly useless. When the verdict was delivered, a storm of applause broke out, which could not be "suppressed," and handkerchiefs, including the prisoner's, were waved in triumph. The verdict was so clearly against the weight of the evidence that in a civil action a new trial would have been granted. But acquittal in a criminal case is absolutely final, and there can be no doubt that the jury represented public opinion

His acquittal.

in refusing to protect the Emperor of the French from the vengeance of his own subjects. The Emperor, however, had ceased to trouble himself about prosecutions and Conspiracy Bills. His thoughts, as we shall see presently, were elsewhere. 1858.

In their dealings with Naples Lord Derby's Government were more fortunate than in their dealings with France. They took up vigorously, and settled satisfactorily, a case which their predecessors had misunderstood and postponed. The *Cagliari*, a Genoese ship, with a Piedmontese cargo, and two English engineers, sailed from Genoa in June 1857. After she had cleared the harbour, armed men who had been concealed on board took possession of her, and released some Neapolitan prisoners from the Island of Ponza. On her way back the *Cagliari* was stopped by a Neapolitan squadron, who took her to Naples, and put her crew in gaol. The English engineers, Mr. Watt and Mr. Park, were among the prisoners. To be a prisoner at Naples under Bomba was a serious thing, and Lord Clarendon ought to have insisted on the immediate release of these British subjects. But he did not, and the duty devolved upon Lord Malmesbury, who discharged it in a creditable manner, though it was not at all to his taste. His sympathies were with the Neapolitan Government, and he suspected the Government of Sardinia, not without reason, of having connived at the enterprise of the *Cagliari*. He was hampered by the withdrawal of the British Minister at Naples, as a protest, unhappily ineffectual, against King Ferdinand's barbarities. Nevertheless he stuck to his point, and carried it. After months of confinement, from which one of them suffered in body, and the other in mind, the engineers were liberated, and the sum of three thousand pounds was paid by the Neapolitan

The case of the *Cagliari*.

June 8.

1858. Government as compensation. Their arrest was undoubtedly illegal. The illegality of the ship's seizure was more doubtful, and there had been talk of arbitration. But in the end the *Cagliari* and her crew were delivered up through Mr. Lyons, the special envoy of Great Britain, "to the absolute will of the British Government." The Sardinian Government was ostensibly ignored. But the honours were with Count Cavour, who not only never lost an opportunity, but never failed to make one, for the advancement of the Italian cause.

The session of 1858, though mainly occupied by the affairs of India, was one of remarkable vicissitudes. Mr. Disraeli's Budget met with more success than it deserved. Having to meet a deficit of nearly four millions, he raised less than a million by taxation. By bringing up the duty on Irish spirits to the level established in England and Scotland, he estimated that he would receive half a million, while a penny stamp on bankers' cheques would bring him in three hundred thousand pounds. The rest he simply borrowed by the suspension of the War Sinking Fund, and by postponing the payment of Exchequer Bonds. Such finance, as Cornewall Lewis pointed out, could in time of peace be defended upon no sound principle. But Mr. Disraeli had a powerful ally. He was supported by Mr. Gladstone, because he did not interfere with the great Budget of 1853, under which the income tax automatically fell this year from sevenpence to fivepence in the pound. That its fall should in the circumstances have been arrested few financiers would now deny. Borrowing, however, is always popular, and borrowing of which an economic purist not in office approves is practically unassailable.

The Budget.

Gladstone's support of it.

The second India Bill.

On the other hand, Mr. Disraeli's India Bill, really Lord Ellenborough's, was laughed out of

existence. Acknowledging that, after the previous vote of the House, the continuance of the Company's rule had become impossible, he declined to adopt Lord Palmerston's Bill, which had at least the quality of simplicity, and proposed another, which was certainly not open to that reproach. There was to be an Indian Council of eighteen, half nominated and half elected. The elected members were to be chosen partly by persons living in England and connected with India, partly by the five constituencies of London, Manchester, Liverpool, Glasgow, and Belfast. The House adjourned for the Easter recess to think over this scheme, and before it met again the scheme was dead. The Government might have perished with it if Lord John Russell had not come to the rescue. Taking advantage of a speech made by the Prime Minister during the recess, in which Lord Derby reiterated his opinion that parties were dissolving, and that every Government had to do much the same things, Lord John communicated privately with him, and proposed that a Bill should be framed by the House of Commons on the lines of Resolutions passed in Committee of the whole House. This most sensible suggestion offered a plank of safety to Mr. Disraeli, at which he eagerly grasped. The suggested constituencies had pleased nobody. In the first place they were arbitrarily selected. What could be more absurd than to exclude Edinburgh and Dublin? Above and beyond that, however, the proposal was a caricature of democratic principles which pleased no one less than real democrats like Mr. Bright. When Lord John Russell suggested in the House of Commons after the holidays his plan of proceeding by Resolutions, and his willingness to move them himself, Mr. Disraeli assented. But this was going rather too far, and there was no answer to "Bear" Ellice's remark that it is

1858.

Its collapse.

Lord John's proposal of Resolutions.

1858.

The Resolutions.

"better to have one Government at a time." So Mr. Disraeli undertook to prepare the Resolutions, and prepared so many of them that very few people read them through. The substance of them was that the power of the Company should be transferred to the Crown; that there should be a Secretary of State for India; and that he should be assisted by a Council of not less than twelve, nor more than eighteen, who were to be partly nominated, partly elected by the Anglo-Indian body already described. The popular constituencies had disappeared.

While the House of Commons was quietly discussing these Resolutions in the business-like spirit which too often drives members from the House and readers from the Reports, a storm suddenly arose which proved that India could become the shuttlecock of parties as well under the Company as under the Crown. The masterly campaign of Sir Colin Campbell brought him on the first day of March once more under the walls of Lucknow, which, though twice relieved, had not since the Mutiny been retaken by the paramount Power. He was supported in a manner equally effective from a moral and from a military point of view by Jung Bahadur, Prime Minister of Nepaul, with a force of ten thousand Ghoorkhas, who had already in January captured Gorruckpore for the British. Sir Colin's own army numbered nearly twenty thousand, and on the 19th of March a combined attack, which proved completely successful, was made upon Lucknow. The Ghoorkhas and Sikhs, whose assistance to British arms was in the circumstances priceless, were allowed to plunder the city, and perhaps could not have been prevented from plundering it. Although the fighting on this occasion was not so terrible or so deadly as when Havelock reinforced Inglis, or when Sir Colin

Sir Colin Campbell before Lucknow.

The capture of Lucknow.

himself relieved Havelock, it was equally gallant, determined, and successful. Sir Archdale Wilson commanded the artillery. Lucknow was captured with comparatively small loss, though Hodson of Hodson's Horse was among the slain. But unfortunately even a born soldier like Sir Colin Campbell can make mistakes, and during the siege of Lucknow he made the one grave mistake in all his military career. He refused to let Sir James Outram cross the Goomtee with three brigades of infantry, join General Franks, and intercept the enemy, unless Outram could promise not to lose a man. This was, of course, a virtual prohibition; the enemy, including their religious leader, the Moulvie, escaped, and the final pacification of Oude was delayed for more than a year.[1] The news that Lucknow had fallen was received in London on the 13th of April, and greeted with enthusiastic applause in both Houses of Parliament.[2] 1858.

Lord Canning, anticipating the fall of Lucknow, drew up a Proclamation to the taloukdars, or head landlords of Oude, and their retainers, which he enclosed in a despatch to Sir James Outram as Chief Commissioner. It was meant, he explained, for the agricultural classes, and not for the Sepoys. The Governor-General intended it to be a manifestation of leniency, for he directed that it should not be published until Sir Colin Campbell was master of Lucknow, lest mercy should be misconstrued into weakness. All inhabitants of Oude whose hands were not stained with the blood of English men or English women, murderously shed, were to be exempted from death, transportation, or imprisonment. Such was the gist of the Lord Canning's Proclamation, March 8.

[1] Lord Roberts's *Forty-One Years in India*, vol. i. p. 405.

[2] It was at Lucknow, under Sir Hope Grant, that Lieutenant Frederick Roberts, afterwards Earl Roberts, K.G., Field-Marshal Commander-in-Chief, won his Victoria Cross.

1859. despatch. The Proclamation declared that, excepting the estates of six loyal chiefs, who were named, "the proprietary right in the soil of the province was confiscated to the British Government, who would dispose of that right as it might seem fitting."

Sir James Outram's remonstrance.

On receiving this document, which he appears to have imperfectly understood, Sir James Outram addressed an earnest remonstrance to the Governor-General. Writing while Lucknow was still in the hands of the mutineers, Sir James declared his conviction that there were not a dozen landholders in Oude who had taken no part in the rebellion, and he urged that if this doom were pronounced against them they would resist by the mode of "guerrilla" warfare to the last. He did not sufficiently consider that the annexation of Oude had itself disturbed the feudal ownership of the soil, or that Lord Canning spoke of "right" in the singular, and not of "rights" in the plural. Lord Canning had no wish to interfere with the men who actually cultivated the land. His policy was to strike at the Chiefs, and to remind them that, unless they submitted to the British Government, they could be deprived of the power which by prescription they enjoyed. His ultimate aim was a permanent settlement for the benefit of the farmers, and he sought to combine with that object the strongest possible incentive for the rebels to lay down their arms. Peace and justice were the Jachin and Boaz, the twin pillars, of the temple he wished to build on the ruins of the rebellion. Replying from Allahabad to Sir James Outram, he defended his main purpose, and adhered to it. But in deference to the Chief Commissioner he inserted in the Proclamation which had not yet been published, a paragraph offering reinstatement to all those who assisted Sir James in establishing order. Three

Lord Canning's reply, March 10.

weeks later Lord Canning entered more fully into the subject, and argued that a complete restitution of the feudal privileges which existed before 1856 would be a positive reward for the attack upon the Residency at Lucknow. Lord Canning unfortunately sent home the draft of the Proclamation, which in its original shape was never issued, without any explanatory remarks. By the same mail he wrote a brief private letter to the President of the Board of Control, saying that the Proclamation required to be explained, but that pressure of business prevented him from writing more in time to catch the post. He knew nothing about the change of Government, and addressed his letter to Mr. Vernon Smith, who did not communicate it, as he should have done, to his successor in office. Not that it would have made any difference. Lord Ellenborough, as the Scotch say, was neither to hold nor to bind. Lord Granville tried to read him a letter from Lord Canning in the lobby, but he would not listen. He could never forget himself; he was always full of his grievances, and he was incapable of doing justice to any Governor-General who came after him. In the name of the Secret Committee he wrote to Lord Canning in terms of studied and premeditated insult. He addressed him as if he were the enemy of England, a Nana Sahib or a Tantia Topee. "Other conquerors," he said, "when they have succeeded in overcoming resistance, have excepted a few persons as deserving of punishment, but have, with a generous policy, extended their clemency to the great body of the people. You have acted upon a different principle: you have reserved a few as deserving of special favour, and you have struck, with what they feel as the severest of punishments, the mass of the inhabitants of the country. We cannot but think that the precedents from which

1858.

His private letter to Mr. Vernon Smith.

Lord Ellenborough's despatch.

April 19.

1858. you have departed will appear to have been conceived in a spirit of wisdom superior to that which appears in the precedent you have made."

More vindictive sentences than these have seldom been penned by a Minister of the Crown. Lord Ellenborough must have known when he wrote them that Lord Canning's scrupulous moderation, and horror of indiscriminate vengeance, had exposed him to obloquy in India. He was well aware, for he had the evidence before him in the despatch to Sir James Outram, that the Governor-General's object was a mitigation of penalties and the attainment of peace without further bloodshed. Yet all this he ignored, while he stigmatised the representative of the Company and the Queen. Nor did he stop there. The annexation of Oude had been forced upon Lord Dalhousie by the Directors and the Board of Control. It had been universally accepted by all parties in England. Lord Ellenborough now went back upon it, and suggested that Dalhousie's behaviour to the King of Oude justified the rebellion which Sir Colin Campbell was actually engaged in putting down. It is difficult to understand how such a document could at such a juncture have proceeded from a sound mind. But not only did Lord Ellenborough write and send it without consulting his colleagues in the Cabinet, or laying it before the Sovereign. In his utter recklessness he published it, with the risk of incalculable mischief to the peace and good government of India. For every mutinous Sepoy would soon know that "the great Lord Sahib" had been rebuked, and that in the opinion of the Queen's Ministers the attacks upon British residents in Oude were "legitimate war." By way of adding to the confusion, Mr. Disraeli stated in the House of Commons that the Cabinet disapproved of Lord Canning's Proclamation "in every sense," and this

His official justification of rebellion.

Disraeli's disapproval of Canning.

statement was telegraphed to all parts of India. If it had been true, the Cabinet should have urged the Directors to recall Lord Canning. But they did nothing of the kind. "Willing to wound, and yet afraid to strike," they left the Governor-General under a cloud. They would not stir a finger for him, and they durst not stir a finger against him. Fortunately for India and for England, Lord Canning did not resign, and Lord Ellenborough did. Lord Ellenborough's resignation, accepted with laudable alacrity by the Queen, was immediately due to notices of censure on his despatch given by Lord Shaftesbury in the House of Lords, and by Mr. Cardwell in the House of Commons. But the outburst of general indignation to which he really yielded was excited by the appearance of his despatch at that critical moment in the public Press. The insult to the Governor-General was more than a personal matter. It seemed like a blow struck from home at the representative of British rule in India.[1]

1858.

Resignation of Lord Ellenborough.

The notices of censure, having achieved their object, should have been withdrawn. Such was the opinion of a thoroughly competent and wholly disinterested adviser, Lord Aberdeen. Whatever mischief Lord Ellenborough's despatch could do had been done. The best possible remedy had been applied to that mischief by the removal of its author from the counsels of the Crown. Mr. Disraeli had committed a grievous error in expressing a hasty and ill-informed opinion upon the merits of the Proclamation. But his blunder was not greater than the blunders of his opponents, who laid themselves open to one of the gravest

The bad tactics of the Opposition.

[1] Lord Derby, making his last overture to a Peelite, placed the Board of Control at the disposal of Mr. Gladstone. On his declining it, Lord Stanley took it, and Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, as if to show that he could turn his hand to anything, became Secretary of State for the Colonies. It was on this occasion that Mr. Disraeli entreated his rival to become his colleague.

1858. charges that could be brought against public men. It was freely said, and it was difficult to deny, that while the work of pacifying India was still far from complete, they made the Indian Empire the sport of faction. They had a case which in the hands of an expert Parliamentary debater could be made to appear plausible enough. By the strict letter of the Constitution Lord Derby and his colleagues were technically responsible for every line and every word of a document which some, if not all, of them saw for the first time in the public journals. They were similarly answerable for Lord Ellenborough's unauthorised publication of it. But such a doctrine is repugnant to common sense, as well as to the principles of justice and fair play. Those principles, and the Constitution also, gave the Cabinet the opportunity of deciding whether they would stand by Lord Ellenborough, or not. Their decision was in the negative, and it was a wise one. Lord Derby could not be called ungenerous because he accepted the resignation, tendered directly to the Sovereign, and not through him, of a colleague who had failed in his duty to the Cabinet in general, and to the Prime Minister in particular. All that could be expected of him he did. He spoke of Lord Ellenborough with far more consideration than that restless egoist deserved. In refusing to go farther, and defend the publication of the despatch, he consulted the interests of the public as well as his own. Had Mr. Disraeli's indiscretion stood by itself, it might have justified the tactics of Lord Palmerston and his friends. But both Mr. Disraeli and Lord Derby said distinctly that they had thorough confidence in Lord Canning's statesmanship up to the moment of the Proclamation, and to approval of the Proclamation the assailants of the Ministry, with a singular lack of moral

courage, would not commit themselves. There was thus not even an intelligible ground of dispute. There was no definite proposition which one party affirmed, and the other denied. The publication of Lord Ellenborough's despatch was admitted on all hands to be a deplorable mistake. The terms of it were not seriously defended, and it had been virtually withdrawn. If the exigencies of debate forced the Government to say more in favour of it than they would otherwise have said, the result was purely mischievous. On the other hand, the Opposition were quite as unwilling to stand by the Proclamation as Ministers were unwilling to stand by the despatch. What then remained? Nothing but faction, an ignominious struggle of those who were out to take the places of those who were in. Because Lord Palmerston, and those about Lord Palmerston, could not be happy out of office, Lord Canning's hands were weakened at the very time when true patriotism would have strengthened them, by an announcement to all the world that his Proclamation for the settlement of Oude was not adopted by either party in the State. Yet at the time of this unhappy cabal there was no real friendship between Lord Palmerston and Lord John. "I do not," said Lord John, in the House of Commons, "hold much communication with the noble Lord, the Member for Tiverton." A witty woman, Lady William Russell, remarked, "They have shaken hands and embraced, and hate each other more than ever." [1]

1858.

Their want of consideration for Lord Canning.

March 28.

The debates began in both Houses on the same day. Lord Shaftesbury's motion only occupied one night, and the speeches were in no way remarkable. Lord Shaftesbury argued with some force that the Proclamation dealt not with the actual ownership of the soil, held by two million

May 14.

The votes of censure.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 120.

1858.

Debate and division in the Lords.

occupiers, but with the feudal rights of six hundred landlords, whose privileges had not been employed for the benefit of the people of Oude. Lord Ellenborough spoke well, as he always did. But with execrable taste and temper he declared that he had merely restricted Lord Canning's power to "do evil." His power to do good remained as before. Lord Canning's resignation was, he said, to him, a matter of indifference. An efficient substitute could easily be found.[1] Such a speech from a Minister of the Crown would have sufficed to carry a vote of censure in almost any Assembly under the sun. Lord Ellenborough having resigned, the previous question, proposed by the Lord Chancellor, got rid of the matter, though the Ministerial majority was no more than nine. This was not perhaps a very heroic way of dealing with a vote of censure, and yet, like Mercutio's wound, it was enough, it served. If Lord Dalhousie's health had permitted him to attend the House of Lords, and to explain his policy in Oude, the debate would have been far more interesting, and far more important. But he was condemned to hear and suffer in silence both the news from India and the attacks upon himself.

The debate in the Commons.

The debate in the House of Commons was one of the most dramatic ever held at St. Stephen's. Politicians on both sides assumed beforehand, almost as a matter of course, that the Government would be defeated, and perhaps, if the House had divided without adjourning, they would have been. But the discussion was continued at intervals for a week, and every day improved the Ministerial chances. Mr. Cardwell, though he had many accomplishments, and among

[1] Lord Elphinstone, the Governor of Bombay, was at that time the destined successor of Lord Canning, as Sir Henry Lawrence had been before his lamented death. Lord Elphinstone had kept his Presidency loyal, and was a thoroughly competent man.

them a genius for administration, was not the man to lead a dashing assault, and he was followed on the first night by the Solicitor-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, the most brilliant ornament of the Chancery Bar, almost equal to Lord Lyndhurst as an orator, and far superior to him as a lawyer. He was one of those rare advocates who never take a bad point, and he seized instinctively upon the one sound argument in Lord Ellenborough's criticism of the Proclamation. Conquest, he reasoned, was the result of war, and war was with Governments, not with their subjects. It could not therefore legitimately lead to the confiscation of private property, or the destruction of private rights. A man of no less intellectual acuteness, Mr. Robert Lowe, taunted the Government with not repudiating Lord Ellenborough until they found that his action was unpopular. They never formally disavowed the despatch itself, which was quite indefensible, though it would have done comparatively little harm if it had not been given to the world. Lord John Russell scarcely exaggerated when he called it a lampoon. But Lord John would have done well to remember the excellent precedent set by the Conservatives in his own case only three years before. When he resigned the Colonial Office, they at once withdrew their proposed censure of his conduct at Vienna. As the debate continued, it became evident that the Liberal party were not united. Mr. Dillwyn, an independent Radical, moved an amendment, seconded by Mr. Milner Gibson, declining to express an opinion in the absence of complete information. Nobody, as they said, knew whether the Proclamation had actually appeared, or, if so, in what form. Mr. Bright spoke nominally against the Proclamation, really against Lord Palmerston, whom he detested, and Sir James

1858.

Liberal disunion.

1858. Graham said that while the Proclamation was bad in substance, the despatch was only bad in style. He forgot that the style of addressing a Governor-General is not a mere question of literary taste. It may be vital to his authority and influence. Graham's speech, however, and Bright's, produced an effect very favourable to Ministers. On the morning of the day fixed for the division, the day before the Whitsuntide recess, appeared the terms of Outram's remonstrance, and of Canning's reply. The latter should have opened every one's eyes to the real meaning of the Governor-General. The Ministerialists of course only quoted Outram, and it became known through General Franks, who had returned from Lucknow, that military opinion was against the Proclamation. Lord Palmerston, who had a quick eye, perceived that the game was up, and looked about for the easiest method of escape.

The dissolving view. The scene in the House of Commons on the 21st of May, the Friday before Whitsunday, was afterwards described by Lord Derby as "matchless." "I had," he said, "the good fortune to be present, and I shall remember it to the last day of my life. The Chancellor of the Exchequer intimated that he would accept Mr. Dillwyn's evasive amendment. Member after member rose from the Liberal benches to urge that Mr. Cardwell should withdraw his motion. For some time he was obdurate. At length Lord Palmerston, as though moved by some spontaneous impulse, ventured to express a hope that his right honourable friend would yield to the evident sense of the House, and Mr. Cardwell, struck with apparent surprise, assured his noble friend that, if the House allowed it, he would withdraw.

Mr. Disraeli's magnanimity. Then Mr. Disraeli felt that his hour had come. In his most dignified and impressive manner he observed that a vote of censure

was a serious thing. The Government were quite prepared to meet it. They had nothing to retract. Their opinion of the Proclamation was unchanged. But as it was desirable to avoid party conflicts on Indian affairs, he would not molest his opponents in their ignominious retreat. So the Speaker put the consecrated formulas, "Is it your pleasure that the amendment be withdrawn?" "Is it your pleasure that the motion be withdrawn?" and the great movement which was to oust the Conservatives from office melted away. The triumph of the Government was complete. The discomfiture of the Opposition was absolute. Mr. Disraeli, in the highest spirits, paid a visit to Slough during the Whitsuntide recess, and executed a war-dance to amuse his constituents. He succeeded in amusing the whole country. Nobody could help laughing at his vivid picture of the Liberal collapse. "It was like a convulsion of nature rather than any ordinary transaction of human life. I can only liken it to one of those earthquakes which take place in Calabria or Peru; there was a rumbling murmur, a groan, a shriek, a sound of distant thunder. No one knew whether it came from the top or the bottom of the House. There was a rent, a fissure in the ground; and then a village disappeared; then a tall town toppled down; and the whole of the Opposition benches became one great dissolving view of anarchy." The newspapers were not spared by the triumphant Minister. They were in the service of "the Cabal," and "the once stern guardians of popular rights simpered in the enervated atmosphere of gilded saloons." This was the Disraelian mode of saying that Mr. Delane went to Lady Palmerston's receptions, and it did not amount to much, for Mr. Delane was the most independent of editors. But the invective against the Cabal was in the circum-

1858.

May 26.

His picture of the scene.

1858. stances just, and the subsequent protests made in both Houses did not weaken its force. The mistake of the speech was the personal attack upon Lord Shaftesbury. "Gamaliel himself," said Mr. Disraeli with undeniable wit, "Gamaliel himself, with broad phylacteries upon his forehead, called upon God to witness, in the voice and accents of majestic adoration, that he was not as other men were, for that he was never influenced by party motives." Lord Shaftesbury was not as other men were, and he was never influenced by party motives. A bigot he might plausibly be called, and his views about the practicability of forcing Christianity upon the natives of India were fanatical in the extreme, but to talk of him as a canting hypocrite was mendacious and absurd. It is not, however, wonderful that Disraeli's head should have been turned. As Greville says,[1] "The Whigs appeared to be victorious, and carrying everything before them up to the eleventh hour, and then came a sudden turn of affairs, and the promise of victory was turned into rout and disaster."

Meanwhile the military operations in India were stamping out the remnants of the rebellion. Sir Hugh Rose in the Central Provinces captured Jhansi, the riches of Hindu cities, and a very strong fortress, after sanguinary fighting in the streets, and after the infliction of losses on the rebels amounting to five thousand men. Sir William Peel, having passed unscathed through many desperate assaults, succumbed to smallpox at Cawnpore. Distinguished even in a distinguished family, gallant even in a gallant profession, he was the naval hero of the Indian campaign. He lived to see the fall of Lucknow, and to hear of the fall of Jhansi, but he died before the capture of Gwalior,

The end of the Mutiny. Capture of Jhansi.

April 27.

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 23rd May 1858.

which finally pacified Central India. At Gwalior, as at Jhansi, the British losses were slight, and were due more to the heat of the sun than to the fire of the enemy. The decisive contest occurred between the heights and the town, where the Rance of Jhansi, who had escaped from her capital, fell fighting like a common trooper. The Maharajah Scindia, who had remained faithful to British rule, though his subjects revolted, was then restored to Gwalior; the Central India Field Force was broken up; and Sir Hugh Rose, after an uninterrupted course of victory, returned to the Presidency of Bombay. In August Sir Colin Campbell was raised to the Peerage (he could not be ennobled), with the title of Lord Clyde. There was nothing specially interesting or romantic about Lord Clyde. But in the history of the British Army there have been few finer soldiers. His splendid services in the Crimea were ill requited, and perhaps at the time imperfectly understood. The Indian Mutiny brought him at last a full measure of reputation and reward. His proper place was at the head of the Army. But that was reserved for a prince of the blood.

1858.

Of Gwalior, June 19.

Lord Clyde.

Against the effects produced by the victories of Sir Colin Campbell and Sir Hugh Rose there had to be set the evil influence of Lord Ellenborough's despatch. That it was unfavourable to the Governor-General had become known by telegraph in India three weeks before it arrived, and when it came, it was of course circulated freely among the natives. Lord Canning was sustained by the Court of Directors, who passed and transmitted to him a special vote of confidence in his administration. He may also have been encouraged by a very handsome and manly letter from his old friend the Foreign Secretary, who, as he said, first saw the Proclamation and the despatch together in the

Lord Canning's reception of the despatch.

He is supported by the Directors.

Lord Malmesbury's letter.

1858. *Times* for the 8th of May. "I consider," wrote Lord Malmesbury, "that I am justified, although a Minister of the Government that has committed towards you and the country the blunder of publishing Lord E.'s secret despatch, in advising you strongly, as a private friend, not to follow the bent which your mind may probably take *at first*, if it be that of resigning your post. Neither Lord Derby nor the rest of our party wish it, and the whole country is ready to give you all the credit you merit for having so well encountered the extraordinary difficulties of your position."[1] The fine feeling shown by this letter is of the sort which preserves the strife of parties from degenerating into merely personal conflicts. There can be little doubt that Lord Ellenborough intended to drive Lord Canning into resignation. But Canning never thought of resigning. To those around him he described the despatch as "impertinent." To the Court of Directors he

June 18, his reply. wrote a calm, dignified, and statesmanlike reply. After declaring that he could not voluntarily lay down an office of duty and responsibility while his efforts and his presence were urgently required at Allahabad, he protested that no amount of sarcasm and innuendo, from whatsoever quarter it came, would induce him to swerve from the path of clemency and justice. The annexation of Oude he respectfully declined to discuss. It had been the joint act of the Crown and the Company, whose servant he was. But he pointed out that it had left the agrarian question in an unsatisfactory state, and that the rebellion offered a fair opportunity for settlement on an equitable footing. If the Government of India were made in theory the universal landlord, the relative claims of all classes who recognised British

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 118.

rule could be adjusted and simplified. This was the true meaning of the famous Proclamation, which very few people in England at first understood. It was completely successful, and as administered by Mr. Commissioner Montgomery, who took the place of Sir James Outram, when Sir James was nominated to the Supreme Council at Calcutta, it falsified every prediction of Lord Ellenborough, and made Oude not only loyal, but contented. If, said Lord Canning, the Directors were dissatisfied with his policy, or with his administration, the sooner they recalled him the better. But, of course, there was no idea of recalling him. Lord Derby wrote privately, having first telegraphed, the assurance of his personal confidence, and the announcement that his son was the new President of the Board of Control. With Lord Stanley Lord Canning's relations were comparatively satisfactory, and no further attempt was made to interfere with the man at the wheel. The first Secretary of State for India, however, did not treat the Viceroy well. In a cold and sneering despatch he endeavoured to prove that Lord Canning had practically abandoned his own Proclamation by leaving the talookdars in the enjoyment of their lands. The real truth of the matter was that the Proclamation had done its work, and that by asserting the right of the British Government to the soil of Oude, the Viceroy succeeded at once in obtaining the submission of the rebels. The behaviour of Lord Derby's Cabinet to Lord Canning was neither generous nor just. But they shrank from an open quarrel with him, and they reaped the full benefit of his masterly statesmanship.

1858.

Lord Canning and Lord Stanley.

Dec. 9.

Effect of the Proclamation.

Lord Stanley took charge of the third Bill for the Better Government of India, which chiefly engrossed Parliament after Whitsuntide. The

The third India Bill.

1858. first Bill was Lord Palmerston's. The second was Lord Ellenborough's. The third, being founded on Resolutions passed in Committee, might be called the Bill of the House of Commons. In Lord Stanley's capable hands it made smooth and rapid progress. The Government had a majority in every division, and the only important change made in the Bill was a constitutional amendment accepted by Lord Stanley from Mr. Gladstone. As subsequently modified by the House of Lords at the instance of Lord Derby, this clause provided that, except for preventing or repelling actual invasion, or under other sudden and urgent necessity, the Indian revenues should not be applied to military operations beyond the Indian frontiers without the consent of Parliament.[1] At that time an aggressive policy was not regarded with favour by any party in the State. The Lords passed the Bill substantially as it went up to them, though they rejected competitive examination for entrance into the Indian artillery and engineers. On the 2nd of August the Bill received the Royal Assent. And the Conservatives, in a minority as they were, had the credit of providing for the administrative future of India.

The Government of India Act.

Despite all the pains bestowed upon it, the Act is not a good specimen of drafting, and it has been since amended. Nevertheless it lays down in essence and in substance the principles upon which the government of India is founded. It transferred supreme power from the Company and the Board of Control to the Secretary of State for India in Council. This is the mainspring of the machine. The rest is detail. The number of Councillors was fixed at fifteen, and has since been reduced to twelve. These twelve are all now

[1] It was the Persian War of 1856–57 which suggested this amendment.

nominated by the Secretary of State. Of the first Council he appointed only eight. The remaining seven were chosen by the Directors of the Company from themselves or their predecessors, and it was provided that any vacancy among them should be filled by the majority of the Council. The qualification was to be ten years' residence in India within a like period from the date of appointment. They were to receive salaries of £1200 a year, to be incapable of sitting in Parliament, and to be removable, like the Judges, only by an Address from both Houses of Parliament. It was enacted that the Secretary of State might divide the Council into Committees, and that the Council itself must meet at least once a week. The Secretary of State's decision was to be final, except in the application of Indian revenue, which would be determined by the majority of the Council. The accounts would be revised by an auditor, appointed by the Secretary of State with the approval of the Chancellor of the Exchequer. The Indian Budget was directed to be laid before Parliament within a fortnight from the 1st of May. This is a mere form, and might almost be called a farce. It gives rise to an annual debate on Indian affairs, alike desultory and inconclusive. It does not give the House of Commons, nor does the House possess, the power to alter a single figure. Even the salary of the Secretary for India is withdrawn from Parliamentary control, because it is charged, with all the expenses of the India Office, upon the revenues of the Dependency. If the Secretary of State overrules the majority of the Council, he is bound to record his dissent with reasons, and any member of the Council is at liberty to do the same if his opinion does not prevail. But the value of these provisos is impaired, if not destroyed, by the clause which empowers 1858.

1858. the Secretary of State to decide all matters within the province of the old Secret Committee, that is almost every question of real political importance, without even consulting the Council. He is the sole medium of communication with the Governor-General.

The Indian Government Act was so much the most important measure passed in 1858, that the other legislation of the year seems almost trivial. Yet the final settlement of the Jewish claims cannot be considered a trifle. It was a personal triumph for Lord John Russell, who thus repeated the success he had achieved as a young man in carrying the repeal of the Test and Corporation Acts when the Duke of Wellington's Government was in office thirty years before. For ten years and in five Parliaments the two Houses had been in conflict over the admission of the Jews, and by no one had their claims been more strenuously resisted than by the Prime Minister. Lord John's Bill, which Lord Palmerston's Government had supported, was opposed, so far as it concerned the Jews, by the Government of Lord Derby. It simplified the Parliamentary oath by leaving out the abjuration of imaginary Pretenders to the throne, and so far was not controversial. But the fifth clause enabled the Jews to omit the words "on the true faith of a Christian" when they took their seats. This clause was struck out in the House of Lords, where Lord Lyndhurst had charge of the Bill, after an impassioned speech from the Lord Chancellor,[1] who, with singular lack of foresight, rated the electors of the City for setting themselves above the law by repeatedly returning Baron Rothschild. The Commons restored the clause, and put Baron Rothschild on the Committee for drawing up their reasons.

The settlement of the Jewish question.

[1] Lord Chelmsford.

A member was competent to serve on a Committee, though unsworn. But such a position was intolerably absurd, and this adroit stroke made even the Premier perceive that something would have to be done. The solution of the problem was found in an unexpected quarter. When the Commons' reasons for adhering to the Jewish clause came up for consideration in the House of Lords, Lord Lucan, of Crimean fame, proposed an amendment, enabling either House to alter its own form of oath by resolution. Lord Lucan was a sound Conservative, and Lord Derby treated his proposal with respect. It was, he said, worthy of careful consideration, and he was unwilling at the moment either to accept or to reject it. This meant, of course, that the struggle was over, and that in spite of the Lord Chancellor, resistance would be no further prolonged. The amendment was not pressed. But a little later Lord Lucan brought in a Bill to embody the suggestion he had made; it was read a second time by 143 votes against 97, and it passed rapidly through its remaining stages in both Houses. Then Lord John Russell moved the necessary resolution, and Baron Rothschild, who had been ten years one of the members for the City, at length took his seat. Nothing particular happened in consequence. Parliament was not perceptibly less Christian than it had been before. The Baron's behaviour was irreproachable, but he did not distinguish himself. Many Jews have since sat in the House of Commons, and some in the House of Lords, side by side with the Bishops, and the skies have not fallen, though justice has been done. The genius of the Jewish race has been richly displayed in art and music, as well as in commerce. But the power they exercise is not directly political, and it has not been perceptibly increased by their admission to the Legislature, where they have shown no more wit than

1858.

Lord Lucan's Bill.

July 1.

Baron Rothschild's admission.

1858. Christians, or ordinary men. A Bill introduced by Lord Lucan was naturally opposed by Lord Cardigan, who wished to know whether all Bills coming from the Commons must pass after ten years. He must have been imbued, strange as it may seem, with the spirit of prophecy. For the

July 2, Church rates. very next day the Lords entered upon a similar contest, and rejected by a contemptuous majority a Bill for the abolition of Church Rates.

With the Christian test for the House of Com-

Removal of the property qualification. mons went the test of property. This qualification, constantly evaded by fictitious conveyances, perished at the hands of Mr. Locke King, a veteran reformer, whose endeavours to lower the franchise in counties were less successful. Captain Vivian, a Liberal soldier in advance of his age, carried

June 1. against the Government by two votes a motion for abolishing the dual control of the Army by placing both the War Office and the Horse Guards under one responsible Minister. But the Government refused to act upon such a small majority in so thin a House,[1] and the Duke of Cambridge continued to enjoy his partial independence for some years more. The close of the session was

Aug. 2. accelerated by the filthy and poisonous condition of the great river on the banks of which the Palace of Westminster is built. In 1858 the drainage of London found its way into the Thames, with results better imagined than described. Par-

The purification of the Thames. liamentary Committees could not sit in the rooms overlooking the river. A visitation of cholera was mercifully averted. But zymotic diseases were rampant, and diphtheria, said to have been imported from Boulogne, made its appearance for the first time in London. The Government, after much delay, found it necessary to do something, and decided to make use of the Metropolitan Board of

[1] The numbers were 106 to 104.

Works created in 1855. The Metropolitan Board was then the only body outside the limited area of the Corporation through which Londoners could speak or act. Imperfect and badly constituted as it was, it was better than nothing, and Parliament entrusted it with the duty of purifying the Thames. The Bill, introduced by Mr. Disraeli, enabled the Board to raise a sewage rate of threepence in the pound for forty years, which was estimated to yield an annual sum of a hundred and forty thousand pounds. The main drainage, which comprised a system of deodorisation, was to be completed in five years and a half. Meanwhile the Treasury gave a guarantee to the amount of three millions sterling. This practical and sensible proposal was readily adopted without much controversy, and with very little debate. The Metropolitan Board gave the first, but not the last, proof of its efficiency by carrying out an extensive scheme of sanitary reform which effectually cleansed the river, and removed the nuisance. It was fortunate that Parliament sat so near the miasmatic ditch of sulphuretted hydrogen which the Thames had become. If any obstruction had been offered to the Bill, the simplest remedy would have been to open the windows.

1858.

July 15.

The first event of the recess was the visit of the Queen and the Prince Consort, with the young Prince of Wales, to Cherbourg, where they attended the opening of the new docks by the Emperor and Empress of the French. The visit was only a qualified success. The Emperor had been offended by the attacks upon him in the English Press, which specified these very docks as the starting-point for an invasion of England. A hundred members of Parliament watched the naval demonstration in the harbour with not altogether agreeable interest, and some of them, besides

The Royal visit to Cherbourg.

Aug. 4.

1858. the Prince Consort, were struck by the fact that the French navy was increasing much more rapidly than their own. The Prince, upon his return to London a few days afterwards, endeavoured to infect Lord Derby with his apprehensions, and to procure an enlargement of the Navy Estimates. But his suggestions were not favourably received. The conservatives had inherited from Peel and Wellington a horror of extravagance, and they were at that time the more economical party of the two. Lord Palmerston cared nothing for economy, and Mr. Gladstone had not declared himself a Liberal. The Emperor always maintained that he never in his wildest moment contemplated a descent upon these shores. It is impossible to answer with any certainty the question whether he spoke the truth. The latest authority, M. de la Gorce, seems to believe him. In any case, and whatever may have been his ultimate designs, it was neither friendship nor hostility to England which engrossed him in August 1858. But Englishmen had ceased to trust him, if they can be said to have ever trusted him at all.

Palmerston and Clarendon at Compiègne.

The same autumn, in the month of November, both Lord Palmerston and Lord Clarendon were the guests of His Imperial Majesty at Compiègne. Their visit was not very popular in England, especially as it coincided with the French Government's prosecution of Montalembert for a pamphlet contrasting the Parliamentary freedom of Westminster with the servitude of the Luxembourg and the Palais Bourbon.[1] But the most permanently interesting feature of the visit is that though the Emperor talked without any appearance of reserve

[1] The subject of this pamphlet was the debate in the House of Commons on Lord Ellenborough's despatch, and the speech of the Solicitor-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, was highly praised by the French statesman. Montalembert was sentenced to six months' imprisonment, but received, to his great annoyance, a free pardon from the Emperor.

or restraint, he completely deceived the English statesmen about the nature of his European policy on the eve of a campaign which left the Treaty of Vienna in shreds. 1858.

Within three weeks from the Prorogation of Parliament, the Conference of the Seven Powers [1] at Paris determined upon the imperfect union of the Danubian Principalities. The French Government, despite the assurances of Louis Napoleon to Prince Albert and Lord Clarendon, supported Russia in pressing for the creation of a single State under a foreign and hereditary Hospodar. The opposition of Great Britain frustrated this scheme, and a compromise was arranged. For common purposes Moldavia and Wallachia were placed under a Central Commission, with the Sultan as Suzerain. But each was to have its own Hospodar, its own Elective Assembly, and its own Executive Administration. The French plan, explained and defended by Count Walewski in a circular despatch to the representatives of the Empire abroad, had its faults, and the introduction of the hereditary principle was open to criticism. But on the whole it was the best and fairest proposed. For it recognised frankly the desire of the inhabitants for unity, and it practically destroyed the power of the Porte, which had in no single instance been used for good. Whatever may have been the French Emperor's motives, he was in this case on the side of liberty, and of the future. Although, as we have seen, he was the principal author of the Crimean War, it was from no love of Turkey that he fought, and he never shared Lord Palmerston's strange belief that Turkey could be reformed. Aug. 19. Moldavia-cum-Wallachia.

Lord Palmerston was at this time the nominal and ostensible Leader of the Opposition. But the Palmerston and the Radicals.

[1] England, France, Russia, Austria, Prussia, Turkey, and Sardinia.

1858. Radicals regarded him as far worse than Lord Derby, and Mr. Bright, addressing his new con-
Oct. 27. stituents at Birmingham, denounced Palmerston's foreign politics in language unusually vigorous even for him. "The more you examine this matter," he said, "the more you will come to the conclusion at which I have arrived, that this foreign policy, this regard for the liberties of Europe, this care for the Protestant interests, this excessive love for the balance of power, is neither more nor less than a gigantic system for the out-door relief of the aristocracy of Great Britain." At the same time Mr. Bright endeavoured to stimulate, without much success, the popular demand for Parliamentary reform. He was cheered, for he was a magnificent speaker. But there were probably few among his audience who cared so much for reform as the Head of the Conservative Cabinet. There was no public enthusiasm to sustain reformers between 1832 and 1866.

The Queen's Proclamation. The 1st of November 1858 is an epoch in the history of India. On that day Lord Canning, now Viceroy as well as Governor-General, issued at Allahabad the famous Proclamation which announced that all acts of the Indian Government would henceforth be done in the name of the Sovereign alone. The Queen was especially anxious that equality of races and religions should be the key-note of the Proclamation. Not being satisfied with the rather dry and bald statement on the subject prepared by Lord Stanley, she had recourse to his father, the Prime Minister, and requested that Lord Derby would express her sentiments in the classical style of which he was an acknowledged master. A happier choice could not have been made. The Proclamation is a masterpiece, which will always be quoted as a perfect example of English as it ought to be written by a

great statesman on a great occasion. "Firmly relying," said Her Majesty, "on the truth of Christianity, and acknowledging with gratitude the solace of religion, we disclaim alike the right and the desire to impose our convictions on any of our subjects. It is our royal will and pleasure that no one shall in any wise suffer for his opinions, or be disquieted by reason of his religious faith or observance. We will show to all alike the equal and impartial protection of the law, and we do strictly charge and enjoin those who may be in authority under us that they abstain from all interference with the religious belief or worship of any of our subjects on pain of our highest displeasure. It is our further will that, so far as may be, our subjects, of whatever class or creed, be fully and freely admitted to any offices the duties of which they may be qualified by their education, abilities, and integrity duly to discharge." By this Proclamation, the best monument of Lord Derby, a general amnesty was also granted to all mutineers and rebels who had not been directly implicated in the crime of murder. The detractors of Lord Canning were forgotten, and his policy had finally prevailed. Before the end of the year Lord Clyde reported that the rebels had been driven from Oude across the mountains of Nepaul, and that all vestiges of the rebellion had disappeared from the Province. 1858.

In Canada, as well as in India, British rule was being consolidated and extended. Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton as Colonial Secretary established by a statute the new Crown Colony of British Columbia, formerly New Caledonia, a territory eight hundred miles long, and four hundred broad, between the Rocky Mountains and the Pacific Ocean. With it was joined Vancouver's Island, taken over from the Company of Hudson's Bay. The ostensible reason for this annexa- British Columbia.

1858. tion was that the discovery of gold in the Fraser and Thompson rivers required an organised government. But Sir Edward had the gift of imagination, rare in public men, and he warmed to his subject as he traced the probable future of English dominion in North America. Although his language was, as usual, a trifle florid, his vision of a free and independent British community, stretching from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and cordially acknowledging the sovereignty of the Crown, has long been an accomplished fact.

The Ionian Islands: Gladstone's mission.

Besides the creation of a new colony, and the separation of Queensland from New South Wales, the chief part of Bulwer-Lytton's work at the Colonial Office was the despatch of Mr. Gladstone, with Lord Derby's approval and consent, on a special mission to the Ionian Islands. These seven islands, of which Corfu is the chief, had been under a British Protectorate since 1815. The islanders were dissatisfied with Sir John Young,[1] who had been their High Commissioner since 1855, and Mr. Gladstone, an old colleague of Sir John's, was sent to investigate their complaints. But the real ground of their dissatisfaction was their earnest desire for a union with Greece. Mr. Gladstone, from the day of his arrival at Corfu, made it quite clear that he had not come to discuss that question. The Queen, he said, whose representative he was, regarded the liberties of the islands as sacred under the Treaty of Paris and Ionian law. Great Britain held this remote and scattered territory for the benefit of the inhabitants, not for her own. The Protectorate had the sanction of Europe, and he had no power even to consider whether it should be set aside. Mr. Gladstone was received with cordiality, and indeed with enthusiasm. But he was quite unable to move the people from their

[1] Afterwards Lord Lisgar.

phil-Hellenism; and the Legislative Assembly of Corfu voted without a dissentient voice for incorporation with the kingdom of Greece. Here Mr. Gladstone's responsibility ended, and he could do no more than report to the Government the feeling which existed in the Protectorate. He can scarcely have doubted, or the Government either, how the matter would end. But there were difficulties in the way of decisive action, one of which was that the Greeks were by no means contented with their own Sovereign, Otho the Bavarian. A temporary makeshift was patched up by the substitution of Sir Henry Storks for Sir John Young as High Commissioner of the Islands. 1858.

Lord Derby's Government wisely abstained from interfering with the Chinese mission of Lord Elgin. Canton had been occupied when they came into office, and much as they disapproved of the policy which led to its occupation, they could not well bring the Plenipotentiary home. Moreover, Lord Elgin's timely reinforcements were held to have saved India, and his reputation stood in consequence so high that to thwart him would have been madness. Lord Malmesbury had certainly no such desire. On the contrary, he asked Lord Elgin, in the name of the Cabinet, what he proposed to do next. Lord Elgin was quite clear in his own mind that he should press forward to Pekin, and Baron Gros concurred. The first stage of their journey was Tientsin, which they reached safely on the 29th of May, after capturing the forts at the mouth of the Peiho. At Tientsin a month later a treaty was signed between Great Britain and China, which profoundly affected, partly for good and partly for evil, the relations between the East and the West. The first, and in Elgin's opinion by far the most important, article provided that there should henceforth be a British

Lord Elgin in China.

The Treaty of Tientsin, June 26.

1858. Minister at Pekin and a Chinese Minister in London. By other articles the Treaty of Nankin[1] was reaffirmed; protection was promised for the Christian religion; British subjects were permitted to travel into the interior; the Yang-tse, the great river, was opened to British trade, and five cities on the coast were added to the number of British ports. With all these provisions Lord Elgin had good reason to be satisfied. They were for the mutual benefit of both countries, at least from the strictly material point of view, and they were also something to set off against the discredit incurred in the wretched affair of the *Arrow*. But as a just man the Plenipotentiary must have felt the injustice of demanding an indemnity for the losses suffered by British subjects at Canton, and for the cost of the expedition. When the Treaty had been signed, he took up a far more congenial task, which ended in the most satisfactory manner. He resolved to visit Japan, and to ingratiate himself with the Emperor by giving him a yacht from the Queen. At Nagasaki Sir Michael Seymour met Lord Elgin with two ships of war, and in spite of remonstrances against such an unprecedented invasion they boldly entered the bay of Yedo. The visit was completely successful. They were hospitably received, and a commercial treaty was concluded for the reduction of customs rates and the abolition of transit dues. Lord Elgin was thus the pioneer of that intercourse with the progressive Power of the Far East which has since made such remarkable strides. He carried out this sagacious and long-sighted policy before modern ideas had penetrated Japan, and when the feudal system was still in full force there. Upon his return to China he signed at Shanghai a much more questionable in-

Commercial treaty with Japan.

[1] 1842.

strument, which recognised the traffic in opium between China and India, though fixing the duties at a very high figure. This system of forcing Indian opium upon China, now happily abandoned, was one of the darkest stains upon British reputation in the East. From Shanghai Lord Elgin proceeded up the Yang-tse-kiang, where the forts at Nankin opened fire on the British ships and were promptly destroyed. He returned to Shanghai before the end of the year, having accomplished the objects of his mission. His brother, Mr. Frederick Bruce, was appointed by Lord Malmesbury to be the first British Minister at Pekin.[1]

1858.

The traffic in opium.

The year 1859 was not many hours old when a warning note, ominous for the peace of Europe, resounded from Paris. The French Emperor was in the habit of receiving the diplomatic body at the Tuileries on the 1st of January, which the French call the day of the year. On this occasion His Majesty said to Baron Hübner, the Austrian Ambassador, "with some severity of tone,"[2] that though his personal feelings towards the Emperor of Austria were unaltered, the relations between the two countries were not such as he could desire. The effect of this remark was tremendous, and for once popular rumour did not go beyond the truth. Louis Napoleon meant more, and not less, than he said. He meant, in plain French, *la guerre*. Six days afterwards the official organ of his Government endeavoured to appease public excitement by an ambiguous paragraph which had precisely the

1859.

France and Austria: the Italian question.

Napoleon's policy.

[1] It was in the session of 1858 that the efforts of Lord Stanhope the historian led to the subsequent purification of the Prayer Book from the special and specially obnoxious services for the 30th of January, the 29th of May, and the 5th of November, which made a martyr of Charles the First, a saint of Charles the Second, and a hero of Guy Fawkes.

Reform of the Liturgy, 18th Jan. 1859.

[2] Cowley to Malmesbury, 1st January. There are other, and milder, versions of the Emperor's words. But there can be no doubt of his meaning.

1859. opposite result. If the half-denial in the *Moniteur* was really intended to explain away the Emperor's words, which may well be doubted, it was deliberately dishonest. War was in the Emperor's mind, and he had a perfect understanding with the Court of Turin. When the Sardinian Parliament met, King Victor Emmanuel made from the Throne a speech which was quite consonant with the Emperor's observations, and quite irreconcilable with the soothing syrup of the *Moniteur*. After premising that the horizon was not entirely serene, the King uttered this memorable sentence, "While we respect treaties, we are not insensible to the cry of suffering which reaches us from other parts of Italy." "Other," that is, than Piedmont. The cry of suffering came from Lombardy, Venetia, Tuscany, Parma, Modena, Naples, Sicily, and the States of the Church.

Jan. 10, Victor Emmanuel's speech.

The calculated indiscretion of New Year's Day could have been no more than a signal to Victor Emmanuel. He and his illustrious Minister were in close though hitherto secret alliance with the brooding schemer who at that time guided the destinies of the French people. For twelve months Napoleon had pondered over all that was meant by the crime of Orsini. That crime cannot be defended upon any principles recognised in the ethics of modern Christendom. It was aimed at the innocent Empress as well as the guilty Emperor. It caused the violent deaths of soldiers and passengers who had done no wrong. And yet Orsini was not a vulgar criminal. Reprehensible as his methods were, he had no personal objects to serve. He was an Italian patriot, and the liberation of Italy was his aim. He paid the penalty of his rashness, and died by the guillotine. The Emperor, from motives which may be guessed, did what he could to save him. But even despots must have

Napoleon and Orsini.

some regard for public opinion, and Orsini's case was too flagrant for mercy. The circumstances attending his trial and his execution made a profound impression in France. Although the French Judges in 1858 were mostly servile tools of the Court, Jules Favre, who defended Orsini, was allowed not only to extenuate, and almost to justify, the deed of his client, but also to read a letter in which Orsini called upon Napoleon to liberate Italy, without any interruption from the Bench. After the verdict and sentence, which could not be doubtful, Orsini addressed to the Emperor a second letter, half menace and half entreaty, in which he called upon Napoleon to free the Italians from a foreign yoke. The Emperor might well have torn the letter up, and said nothing about it. He caused it to be inserted in the Official Gazette of Piedmont. The French people could not fail to remember that their Sovereign had belonged to the society of *carbonari*, which Orsini likewise adorned. Those about the Emperor, not the most discreet of his subjects, were heard to comment upon the change wrought in him by the explosion of Orsini's bombs. He was no longer the same man. He seemed to have lost his nerve. The reason was not far to seek. There were other *carbonari* in the world besides Orsini, and they might not all be equally unsuccessful. That the Emperor was a dreamy ideologue, for whom Italian union had a romantic fascination, is the belief of an admirable historian, M. de la Gorce. But however that may be, there is abundant evidence that he was under the dominion of personal fear. In truth the terror of assassination has shaken nerves unassailable by the perils of war. Even Cromwell felt it, and indifference to it was the crowning proof of indomitable courage in William of Orange — 1859.

1859.

That soul supreme, in each hard instance tried,
Above all pain, all passion, and all pride,
The rage of power, the blast of public breath,
The lust of lucre, and the dread of death.

Napoleon and Cavour.

Outside France there was one who watched the Emperor of the French as a cat watches a mouse. The Prime Minister of Sardinia, Count Cavour, was the first statesman in Italy, and, for that matter, in Europe. "Inflexible in his main purposes," said a just and discriminating eulogist, "pliant in adapting his conduct to occasion, a consummate diplomatist, a great Parliamentary leader, subtle and vigilant, cautious, daring, and versatile, he realised the boast of Themistocles by making a small State into a great one."[1] Cavour belonged to the aristocracy of Piedmont, and had French blood in his veins. He was connected with the family of St. François de Sales. In his youth he had served with the Army. But his tastes were not military, and the extreme shortness of his sight would in any case have interfered with his efficiency as an officer. He soon gave up soldiering, and devoted himself to the cultivation of his estate. As a scientific farmer he had great success, and realised a considerable fortune by introducing the culture of beetroot. He also made large sums by commercial enterprise. He was elected by the capital to sit in the Parliament of Turin, at once distinguished himself as a debater, and in 1850 entered the Liberal Cabinet of Massimo d'Azeglio. D'Azeglio was a literary statesman, and a sincere, high-minded Italian patriot, correct in all his conduct, though romantic in some of his ideas. He regarded Cavour as a dangerous, revolutionary politician, but being unable to control him, resigned in his favour. As First Minister Cavour consecrated his life to the one great object of redeeming Italy

1852.

[1] *Times*, 31st December 1861.

from foreign control. With Mazzini and the Republican party he would have nothing to do. Himself intensely practical, he considered them impracticable visionaries. He was a Constitutional Monarchist, a Liberal in the modern English sense, and a loyal subject of Victor Emmanuel. But all these were means to his one supreme goal of an independent and united Italy. "We are most of us," says Newman, "men of one idea, and we should be happier if we knew it." Cavour did know it, and gloried in it. He was a Catholic, and in his way a sincere one. But not even his religion was suffered to interfere for a moment with the cause of his country. As soon as he had got into his own hands the supreme direction of Sardinian affairs, Cavour set himself to foster the national movement throughout the Italian Peninsula. He had agents, authorised and unauthorised, in every Italian Court. He was in active and incessant correspondence with Italian Liberals at Milan, at Florence, at Naples, at Parma, at Modena, at Rome. He secretly encouraged them to throw off the foreign yoke, and coalesce with Piedmont to form a united Italy. The founder of the Liberal party on the Continent was Cavour, and it was to the Liberals of Europe that he appealed. He had a most zealous and faithful friend in the British Minister at Turin, Sir James Hudson,[1] the "hurried Hudson" who had "rushed into the chambers of the Vatican" to bring Sir Robert Peel home after the dismissal of Lord Melbourne in 1834. Sir James Hudson never concealed his sympathy with Italian independence, and without absolutely departing from his instructions he gave Cavour an invaluable support. But Cavour's grand quarry was the Emperor Napoleon. He knew, he had good reason to know, the effect produced by Orsini upon the

1859.

Cavour's idea.

Sir James Hudson.

[1] Appointed by Lord Granville in 1852.

1859. imperial nerves, and he did his best to strengthen it. Walewski, the nominal Minister for Foreign Affairs, was against him. So was Marshal Vaillant, the Minister for War. Cavour disregarded subordinates, and addressed himself directly to the Emperor. His tools were as various as his methods. In the prosecution of his great purpose, from which nothing could turn him back, he did not stop at the diplomatic service, or even at the male sex. He was determined to capture the Emperor, and he captured him.

The meeting at Plombières.

After many communications in writing, which Cavour afterwards threatened to divulge, if Italy were betrayed by France, the two conspirators, for such they were, met at Plombières on the 21st of July 1858. A full account of this interview was drawn up three days afterwards by Cavour, and sent to Victor Emmanuel. At the time secrecy was so carefully and so successfully observed that during the conversation the Emperor received a telegraphic message from Walewski announcing the arrival of Cavour at Plombières. Plunging at once into business, the ruler of France declared himself ready to support Piedmont in a war with Austria on two conditions. It must not be a revolutionary war, and there must be a colourable pretext for it. Cavour had no sympathy with Mazzini, and no scruple about giving an assurance on the first point. The second condition presented more difficulty. Cavour suggested the failure of Austria to observe her treaties of commerce with Piedmont, and the Austrian occupation of territory in the Duchies and the Papal States. But the former ground was justly rejected by the Emperor as trivial, and to raising the latter there was the insuperable objection that his own troops were in occupation of Rome. Naples was supposed to be under the protection of Russia. The final choice

of this singular pair, the adventurer and the patriot, the charlatan and the man of genius, brought together for one brief moment in the conflux of eternities, fell upon the little Duchy of Modena. If the people of Modena presented to the King of Sardinia a petition for union with Piedmont, the Duke would throw himself into the arms of Austria, and then Piedmont could call upon France. In the war which must follow, England, it was thought, would be jealous and discontented, but neutral; Russia would be well pleased; and Prussia would not have made up her mind what to do before peace had been concluded. The terms of that peace would comprise a Kingdom of North Italy stretching from the Alps to the Adriatic, containing Parma, Lombardy, Venetia, and the Papal States. Tuscany and Umbria would be a Central Italian Kingdom under the Duchess of Parma, who belonged to the House of Bourbon. The Pope would remain at Rome with "the ancient patrimony of St. Peter," and would be called President of the Italian Confederation. The wages of France were to be Nice and Savoy. To the proposed cession of Savoy, which, though the cradle and the tomb of his master's house, was not really Italian, Cavour did not seriously object. Of giving up Nice he would not hear, and the point was not settled when the conversation, which had lasted four hours, came to an end. An hour later the Emperor took his guest for a drive through a wooded valley of the Vosges, and suggested his cousin Prince Napoleon as a husband for Victor Emmanuel's daughter, the Princess Clothilde. From a moral point of view this project is not easy to defend. For the Princess was a mere child, and the Prince, though one of the ablest men in Europe, was as notorious a profligate as either the Emperor or the King. But Cavour was no

1859.

Prince Napoleon and Princess Clothilde.

1859. Puritan, and to the cause of Italy he would have sacrificed the happiness of many Princesses.

Victor Emmanuel's readiness. When Victor Emmanuel read the report of his Minister, it was not his daughter's welfare that first occurred to him. Perceiving at once all the risks, and all the possibilities, of the future, he exclaimed, "In a year I shall be King of Italy, or plain M. de Savoy."[1] He never doubted after July 1858 that there would be war, though the British Government did not suspect it until they heard of the Emperor's language to Baron Hübner. Then they did their best to preserve peace. But events were too strong for them, and Lord Malmesbury, the Foreign Secretary, was not equal to the occasion. The times demanded a statesman, and he was no more than a cleverish man about town. While the King of Sardinia was virtually proclaiming himself, with the secret sanction of the French Emperor, King of Italy, the Foreign Secretary of Great Britain was addressing to the Queen's ambassador at Paris a series of unfortunate prophecies. Lord Cowley was assured that the war would be neither short nor decisive; that Austria had great military power, which she would use to the last; that the struggle would be one of the longest and bloodiest on record; and that the result for Italy would not be independence, but a change of masters. This despatch pleased Walewski, who detested the foreign policy of his master. For all the effect it had upon the writer's old friend at the Tuileries, it might as well have been one of the Peace Society's improving publications. Then came Austria's turn to be scolded. Lord Augustus Loftus, the British Ambassador at Vienna, was assured by Lord Malmesbury that England could not help the Emperor of Austria against his own rebellious

Jan. 10, Lord Malmesbury's good advice.

Jan. 12.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. ii. p. 363.

subjects, and that it was "intolerable" for either him or the Emperor of the French to occupy the territory of the Pope. This sort of despatch, even when well written, as Lord Malmesbury's despatches never were, serves no useful purpose, and irritates without alarming those for whom it is intended. 1859.

About three weeks afterwards there was published in Paris an anonymous pamphlet, called *The Emperor Napoleon and Italy*, which set all Europe talking, and produced a real sensation. The actual author, or transcriber, of this manifesto was M. de la Guéronière, one of those useful persons who can always put into elegant and effective language the ideas of others. But it was as much the work of the Emperor as if he had written it himself, and it expressed with entire accuracy the ideas which had shaped themselves in his mind immediately after the interview at Plombières.[1] Lucid and forcible in style, it was revolutionary in substance. The whole government of Italy outside Piedmont was condemned. The Duke of Modena was described as the acknowledged delegate of Austria. The Duchess of Parma was bound by treaty to the Cabinet of Vienna. Austrian bayonets were fixed between the Grand Duke of Tuscany and his subjects. The King of Naples was isolated from the rest of the Peninsula, and from all other States. The dominions of the Pope required reforms for which it was vain to hope. Quoting the declaration of the first Napoleon that Italy ought to be free and independent, the pamphleteer added that while the uncle desired conquest as a step to freedom, the aim of the nephew was freedom without conquest. Feb. 4, the Emperor's first pamphlet.

The day before the issue of this remarkable and most disquieting production, the British Parliament

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. ii. p. 386.

1859. met, and Lord Derby declared in dignified language
British policy, Feb. 3. that the policy of England was to uphold the Treaties of 1815, from which alone Austria derived her title to her Italian provinces. The Prime Minister further declared that England would observe absolute neutrality in case of war, and that a war could only be due to the selfish ambition of a foreign Sovereign. At the same time the Queen's Speech contained an in-
Increase of the Navy. timation that a material increase of the Navy was required by the use of steam in maritime warfare. The choice of a reason was judicious. But the immediate cause of the increase was the visit of the Queen and the Prince Consort to Cherbourg. Before the month of February was over Lord Malmesbury, honestly, though not always with
Lord Cowley's mission to Vienna. discretion, labouring for peace, sent Lord Cowley on a confidential mission to Vienna, where he found Count Buol quite friendly and amenable. But his errand came to nothing, because while he was absent from his post at Paris the Russian Government proposed to Count Walewski that the Italian question should be submitted to the judgment of
Proposal of a Congress. a European Congress.

The question of a Congress had not been settled when a Ministerial crisis occurred in England. Lord Derby, who had always been a Parliamentary
The revival of reform. reformer, was pledged to introduce a Reform Bill, and he honourably fulfilled his engagement. But the time was unfavourable. His own party, who did not all share his views, were lukewarm, and there was no public demand for an enlargement of the franchise. Mr. Bright had done his utmost to rouse the working classes, and convince them of their wrongs, in a series of those speeches which are the envy and despair of aspiring orators. But he failed, and where he failed, no one could succeed. He had that rare, that singular eloquence which

profoundly moves great masses of men, and yet satisfies the literary taste of the most fastidious critics. On this occasion, however, it was a voice crying in the wilderness. Audiences and readers were alike enchanted with the manner and the style, but that was all. And yet John Bright was eminently a practical man. At Bradford he drew the outlines of a Bill, conferring the franchise on every ratepayer, and transferring members from small boroughs to large. His campaign was a failure, though it was vainly cited as an example of what reckless demagogues would bring about if Conservative Reformers did not have their way. The public were neither alarmed nor inspired. They were indifferent and apathetic. The subject was left to politicians, who treated it entirely as a question between the Ins and the Outs.

1859.

Mr. Bright's plan, Jan. 17.

Mr. Disraeli introduced the Bill with a considerable flourish of trumpets. He went so far as to declare that it was "more important than peace or war," adding that the House of Commons were fortunate in being able to discuss it in the absence of passion, and with the advantage of experience. The absence of passion, of excitement, or even of interest, out of doors was obvious enough. But the accumulated experience of successive Administrations had not combined to produce, or at least had not resulted in producing, a businesslike measure. The Government discarded population as the principle of enfranchisement. They left that to levellers like Mr. Bright. They proposed instead a number of miscellaneous qualifications which "the tribune of the people," with the ridicule that kills, christened "fancy franchises." Graduates of the Universities and members of the learned professions were to vote as such, though graduates voted already in constituencies entirely composed of them. Ten pounds a year from the Funds, sixty pounds in the Savings

Feb. 28, Lord Derby's first Reform Bill.

1859. Bank, a pension of twenty pounds, were among these picturesque qualifications, which recalled the memory of Lord Ellenborough's India Bill. Polling-papers were to be provided for the benefit of the infirm or the indolent, some new boroughs were created, and a few of the smaller towns were stripped of one Member each. The forty shilling freeholders in boroughs were deprived of their votes for the counties, and this proved to be the most unpopular part of the Bill. But the main feature of the Ministerial scheme was the reduction of the county franchise to ten pounds, at which it then stood in the boroughs. This it was that caused the resignation of Mr. Walpole and Mr. Henley, announced on the first of March. Mr. Henley was a thorough-going Tory, opposed to all change. Mr. Walpole was a moderate reformer, and would not have objected to a reduction of the franchise in boroughs. But both of them, for reasons which were even then difficult to explain and are now almost impossible to understand, agreed in regarding equality between the rural and the urban suffrage as unconstitutional. This double defection was a serious blow to a weak Government. The seceding Ministers, though highly respectable, were not exactly eminent men. But their reputation was European compared with that of their successors, Mr. Sotheron Estcourt and Lord Donoughmore.

Resignation of Walpole and Henley.

The Opposition rallied their strength, and gathered their forces for the second reading. They hoped, not without reason, to bring into the same lobby those who feared that the Bill went too far and those who thought that it did not go far enough. For while on the one hand it enfranchised two hundred thousand of the middle class, it did not give a vote to a single working man. Lord John Russell, assisted by Sir James Graham, drew

1859.

up an amendment which was much, and not unjustly, criticised. It invited the House to pronounce that interference with the freehold franchise in counties was unjust and impolitic, while at the same time demanding a further reduction of the ten-pound household suffrage in boroughs. The critics of the amendment who complained of its irrelevancy were wrong. It was relevant enough, for it condemned the Bill on two specific grounds. But it might fairly be called factious, inasmuch as it was aimed at catching the votes of men who agreed in nothing, not even in their reasons for disliking the Bill. Upon this amendment there ensued a debate of seven nights, remarkable for the power and eloquence displayed in fighting a sham issue. The Government declared at once through Lord Stanley that they should regard Lord John Russell's resolution as fatal to the Bill, though it brought together Bright, who wanted democratic reform, and Palmerston, who wanted no reform at all. The debate is indeed a logical chaos, owing to the fact that many reformers spoke against the Bill, and some anti-reformers in its favour. Thus Sir Edward Bulwer-Lytton, at the close of an oration in which his friends said he had surpassed himself, declaimed against the enfranchisement of "impatient poverty and uninstructed ignorance." After this emphatic warning from a Minister responsible for a Reform Bill came a vigorous protest from John Bright against increasing territorial influence by lowering the county franchise, and after that the House, like the public, was prepared for anything. The most eloquent of Solicitors-General, Sir Hugh Cairns, in describing Lord John Russell, mistook him, to judge from his language, for the plaintiff's attorney, and Mr. Cardwell, reversing the famous dictum of the first Napoleon, alleged that England was not for

Lord John's amendment.

The debate and its humours.

1859. equality, but for freedom. Lord Palmerston was in favour of the amendment, but not against the Bill, while Mr. Gladstone was against the amendment, but not in favour of the Bill. Sir James Graham and Mr. Sidney Herbert practically proclaimed themselves followers of Lord John, who, and not Lord Palmerston, was leading the Opposition for the nonce. Mr. Gladstone, in a light ironic vein, very unusual with him, recalled the history of Reform for the last eight years. "In 1851," he said, "my noble friend,[1] then first Minister of the Crown, approached the question of Reform, and commenced with a promise of what was to be done twelve months afterwards. In 1852 he brought in a Bill, and it disappeared, together with the Ministry. In 1853 we had the Ministry of Lord Aberdeen, which commenced with a promise of Reform in twelve months' time. Well, 1854 arrived; with it arrived the Bill, but with it also arrived the war, and in the war was a reason, and I believe a good reason, for abandoning the Bill. Then came the Government of my noble friend the Member for Tiverton,[2] which was not less unfortunate in the circumstances which prevented the redemption of those pledges that had been given to the people from the mouth of the Sovereign on the throne. In 1855 my noble friend escaped all responsibility for Reform on account of the war; in 1856 he escaped all responsibility for Reform on account of the peace. In 1857 he escaped that inconvenient responsibility by the dissolution of Parliament; in 1858 he escaped again by the dissolution of his Government." Mr. Gladstone declined to take part in any further delay, and would vote for the second reading of the Bill although he disapproved of it, believing that it was not past remedy in Committee.

Gladstone's ironical summary.

[1] Lord John Russell. [2] Lord Palmerston.

Then the future leader of the Liberal party proceeded to a persuasive and ingenious defence of pocket boroughs, which he coupled with the names of Burke and Mackintosh, of Pelham and Chatham (a curious combination), of Fox and Pitt, of Canning, Macaulay, and Peel. Mr. Disraeli turned fiercely upon Lord John Russell, as the bungling executioner of Whiggery, and Lord Palmerston delivered a bitterly contemptuous attack upon the Government, in which he prophesied that they would shrink from resigning, and would not dare to dissolve, but accept the principles of the amendment if they were defeated. Palmerston probably did not believe this prediction, and certainly he did his best by his speech to falsify it. The Government were beaten by a majority of thirty-nine, and the Parliament of 1857 was almost immediately dissolved. In announcing the dissolution to the House of Lords, who had nothing to do with the matter, Lord Derby took the unusual course of indulging in a biographical sketch of Lord John Russell, not altogether accurate in substance, and by no means sympathetic in tone. Of all public men in his day Lord Derby was the most simply and frankly human. He never made the slightest attempt to disguise his feelings.

1859.

April 1.

The dissolution.

At the time of Lord Derby's defeat parties were not very sharply divided. The sympathies of most Englishmen were with the Italian cause, but there was no tangible evidence that the Government had favoured Austria. The debate on Reform had not done much credit to the patriotism of the Opposition, and Lord Palmerston's popularity was nothing like what it had been two years before. Lord Derby's Cabinet, though they treated Lord Canning ungenerously, had not made any serious mistakes either at home or abroad. Lord Malmesbury's instructions to Mr. Bruce, the

The eve of the elections.

Italy.

Reform.

1859. China. March 1. British Minister in China, were sensible and moderate. Mr. Bruce was expressly directed to supersede Sir John Bowring, to leave Hong Kong for Shanghai, and to reside there for the present, making only occasional visits to Pekin. But while thus sparing the susceptibilities of the Chinese, he was to insist upon being received as Minister at Pekin by the Emperor himself. It did not occur to Lord Malmesbury, nor to the Government, that the realisation of this project, though strictly in accordance with the Treaty of 1858, might require a military and naval force with which Mr. Bruce was unprovided. The defencelessness of Canton was rashly accepted as a proof that China could offer no resistance at all. In India resistance was at an end, and an Order in Council was issued that the Archbishop of Canterbury should prepare a form of thanksgiving for the restoration of tranquillity to Her Majesty's subjects throughout Hindoostan. The thanks of Parliament were once more voted to Lord Canning, Lord Clyde, and other officers, as well civil as military, for their "eminent skill, courage, and perseverance" in suppressing the most perilous insurrection by which British power was ever assailed. The Viceroy, now rewarded with an Earldom, had seen his desire upon his enemies, in India and at home. After a period of grudging and critical support, unworthy of themselves and of him, the Cabinet had at length come to acknowledge that the splendid services of Earl Canning to his country placed him on a level with Wellesley and Dalhousie. A few days after the order for thanksgiving, Tantia Topee, the most prominent leader of revolt, except Nana Sahib, was hanged by judgment of a Court Martial. He was betrayed by the treachery of a follower, and taken in his sleep. Though not a professional soldier, he had displayed remarkable aptitude for strategy, and

India. April 12.

April 18. Tantia Topee.

if he could have ventured to fight in the open, he would have been a very formidable adversary indeed. But though he met his doom with the placid courage of an Oriental fatalist, he had no enterprise in action. Inasmuch as he was not convicted, or even accused, of murder, or of treachery, his execution has been censured as harsh and unjust. It is easy to argue on both sides of such a question, but Lord Canning's reputation for a clemency which exposed him to much opprobrium entitles him to the benefit of the doubt. 1859.

The credit for pacifying India belongs to Lord Canning and Lord Clyde, with their respective subordinates. But the Government at home could fairly claim to have strengthened in a reasonable and judicious manner the defences of the nation. On the principle, formulated by Palmerston, that steam bridges the channel, they added a considerable sum to the Navy Estimates for the construction of ships, and, reviving the precedent set by Pitt after the Peace of Amiens, they took steps for the organisation of volunteers. The scheme of their enrolment was laid down in an official Circular by General Peel,[1] the Secretary for War, under the Statute of George the Third, passed in 1804. Few movements have been more spontaneous, more popular, more successful, or more wholesome than this. The Poet Laureate powerfully contributed to its success by a spirited poem, published in the *Times* for the 9th of May, and containing the famous anti-Napoleonic couplet — National defence. The volunteers.

> True we have got *such* a faithful ally
> That only the Devil can tell what he means.

The Government only recognised and carried out the desire of thousands who had leisure at their

[1] Queen Victoria considered General Jonathan Peel, Sir Robert's brother, to be the best War Minister of her long reign. — Sidney Lee's *Life of Queen Victoria*, p. 281.

1859. disposal to prepare themselves for guarding their country against invasion. The Rifle Volunteers, as they were called after a weapon then comparatively new, furnished their own arms and accoutrements. They were drilled and taught to shoot by competent instructors, and they constituted a force which could not well be used for any aggressive purpose. At the same time they were a warning to all whom it might concern that the British Fleet, though the first, was by no means the last defence of England and Scotland. Irish volunteers have, unfortunately, never been possible since the Union.

The vote of the first of April impaired, if it did not actually destroy, the influence of the British Government upon the politics of Europe. A Ministry which the House of Commons has sentenced to death cannot, even if it has appealed to the country, exercise a moral authority in the counsels of the world. Had Lord Malmesbury possessed the Parliamentary support, and the statesmanlike qualities, which he conspicuously lacked, he would probably have failed to preserve peace. As it was, he never, though he deceived himself into the opposite opinion, came within measurable distance of success. The Emperor Napoleon was steadily preparing for war, and his ostensible readiness to discuss pacific measures was assumed with the object of gaining time. Lord Cowley at Vienna found Count Buol in a reasonable frame of mind, and disposed to confine Austrian troops within Austrian territory on condition that French trooops were withdrawn from Rome. But while Cowley and Buol were exchanging futilities, France was negotiating with Russia for a Conference never intended to meet. Among the many strange results of the Crimean War none is stranger than the close and friendly

French preparations for war.

France and Russia.

understanding which it was the means of establishing between Russia and France. The project of this Conference, afterwards called a Congress, and thus twice christened without ever being born, was communicated to Lord Malmesbury by Pélissier, and confirmed by Baron Brunnow, once more the Ambassador of Russia in London. Lord Malmesbury, though a man of slow mind, was not deceived by this transparent artifice, and perceived clearly enough the real aims of the Tuileries. Nevertheless he played into his old friend's hands by the preposterous suggestion that Sardinia should not have a voice in the Congress. His idea was that the five Powers, of course including Austria, should alone decide the fate of Italy, and that the Italian States should be heard as petitioners. Cavour, acting in concert with the French Emperor, refused to disarm on such terms, and as Austria made Sardinian disarmament a condition of going into Congress, the negotiations were broken off. Lord Clarendon, perhaps the worst prophet of his time, took this opportunity for remarking in the House of Lords that "the bubble of Italian unity had at length burst." On paper and in Parliament, in speeches and in Blue Books, Lord Derby's Government preserved the appearance of Impartiality. But their personal sympathies with Austria were well known, and the Italian Minister complained of Lord Derby's habitual rudeness.[1]

1859.

March 14.

April 18.

Lord Palmerston, on the other hand, took up the Italian cause with great warmth, and in the House of Commons, five days before the dissolution, argued that as Sardinia had sat with the great Powers at the Conference of Paris in 1856 she had an equal right to the same position now. The day after this Italian debate in both Houses Parliament was prorogued, and on the 23rd of April it was

April 18, Palmerston's Italian sympathies.

[1] Malmesbury, *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. pp. 162, 163.

1859. dissolved. At this moment Massimo d'Azeglio[1] was in London on a special mission, and on the 19th of April he succeeded in extorting from Cavour a promise to disarm, although no assurance had been given that Sardinia would be represented at the Congress. Lord Malmesbury's last proposal was, in his own words, "a general and simultaneous disarmament previous to the Congress, under the superintendence of a military commission to ensure its being efficiently carried out."

April 2, Austrian declaration of war. But at this point the patience of Austria, or of Count Buol, gave way, and a peremptory summons was sent from Vienna demanding the immediate disarmament of Sardinia. Now that it was too late, the British Government protested in the strongest language against the conduct of Austria; and in the same despatch, from Lord Malmesbury to Lord Augustus Loftus, offered their services as mediators under the 23rd protocol of the Treaty of Paris. But this benevolent offer came to nothing. Cavour replied to Buol that after the Sardinian acceptance of the British proposal the responsibility for war must rest on Austria, and Victor Emmanuel told his army the next day that an "insulting demand" had been "rejected with contempt." "The announcement I make to you," he added, "is the announcement of war. Soldiers, to arms." Events then moved rapidly. On the 25th of April the French army disembarked at Genoa, and next day the Austrian army crossed the Ticino. The day after that the people of Florence rose, and the Grand Duke of Tuscany fled. On the first of May Parma followed the example of Florence, and the Grand Duchess of Parma did as the Grand Duke of Tuscany. The Emperor Napoleon left Paris for the seat of war after nominating the Empress as Regent, and met the King of Sardinia

Italian response.

Rising in Italy.

[1] Cavour's old friend and former chief.

at Genoa on the 13th of May. Before his departure he recalled Marshal Pélissier from London, much to the old soldier's annoyance, and re-appointed Persigny his ambassador, much to the annoyance of Lord Malmesbury. Lord Malmesbury had reason to be vexed. For there can be no doubt that the Emperor intended this diplomatic manœuvre as a demonstration of his confidence in Palmerston and the English Liberals. Lord Malmesbury, however, did not retaliate by recalling Sir James Hudson from Turin. A formal declaration of neutrality was issued by the Government during the progress of the elections. It was the obvious course, and it was not challenged, nor unfavourably criticised, by the leaders of the Opposition. Yet a much stronger case could have been made out for joining France against Austria in 1859 than for joining her against Russia in 1854. At neither time was any British interest directly involved. But Turkey in 1854 was contending for the right to misgovern her Christian subjects, and Sardinia in 1859 was fighting to free Italy from a foreign yoke. Whatever may have been the Emperor Napoleon's motives, he was engaged in a war for liberty, and all lovers of liberty who understood the situation wished him success. Even Lord Derby, who was as strongly prejudiced against Italy as old Metternich himself, denounced with unsparing severity Austria's ultimatum, for which, if her cause had been just, it must be admitted that she had abundant pretexts. In declining co-operation with France Lord Malmesbury committed himself to the unlucky prophecy that the war would bring misery and ruin upon Italy.[1] Writing a little later to Sir James Hudson, he warned the Sardinian Government that, though England would not interfere, Prussia and the

1859.

May 12.

1854 and 1859.

May 20.

[1] Malmesbury to Cowley, 5th May.

1859. German confederation probably would. This was undoubtedly a real danger, but it concerned France more than Sardinia.

The General Election of 1859.

The General Election of 1859 was neither exciting nor eventful. It was difficult to say then, and it is not easy to say now, upon what the issue turned. Both parties professed to be, neither party really was, in favour of reform. Upon national defence, by sea or land, there was no ostensible difference of opinion. The Chinese question was supposed to be settled, and the Indian question was settled in fact. Every one was for neutrality in the Italian War, and at the same time nine Englishmen out of ten were on the Italian side. Under these conditions the natural Conservatism of the English people made itself felt, and the Government of Lord Derby won thirty seats. They would probably have won fifty, and obtained a working majority, if there had not been a general, though rather vague, impression that they had shown themselves unfriendly to Italy. This impression, despite the protest against the Austrian ultimatum, was neither unfounded nor unfair. Lord Malmesbury might boast, and did boast, that he had procured the release of Poerio, and about sixty other political prisoners of the infamous Bomba. But these men were set at liberty on the preposterous condition that they should go to America, although their only crime was that they had opposed a bad Government. They did not, however, go to America, but landed at Cork, and came on to London, where they received a warm welcome from Lord Shaftesbury and other philanthropists. Lord Malmesbury had urged the release of Poerio, who was in much the same social and political position as himself, on the very cynical ground that he could do Bomba more harm in prison than at large.[1] On the other hand, when

Victories of the Government.

The release of Poerio.

March 7.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 132.

Bomba, Ferdinand the Second, died, Lord Malmesbury and Count Walewski renewed diplomatic relations with Naples, which had been interrupted for nearly three years. Neither statesman, if statesmen they could be called, had the slightest sympathy with Cavour, or the great national movement which re-created Italy. The only public men in England who thoroughly understood that movement were Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Gladstone. But the English people had a sound instinct which told them that Austria was the wrong horse to back.

1859.

Renewed intercourse with Naples, May 22.

English sympathy with Italy.

Although the new House of Commons was almost equally divided, the Liberal party had become once more united, and the balance was in their favour. After an absence of two years from Westminster, Cobden was elected for Rochdale, before he could return from the United States. Parliament met on the 31st of May, and the Queen's Speech was read on the 7th of June. On the 6th a meeting was held at Willis's Rooms to celebrate Liberal Union under the auspices of Palmerston, John Russell, Sidney Herbert, and John Bright. The result was an amendment to the Address, moved by Lord Hartington, who thus made his first appearance in public life, and acquainting Her Majesty with the fact that the House of Commons had no confidence in the advisers of the Crown. A debate in a new Parliament on a vote of confidence can hardly be more than an academic exercise. The interest lies not in the argument, but in the division-list, for the House meets to register and endorse the verdict of the country. As Sir John Pakington said upon this occasion, with truth and neatness, the fault of the Government was that their places were wanted by the other side. Mr. Disraeli's conduct was peculiar, and one, at least, of his colleagues never forgave it.

Liberal reunion.

Lord Hartington's amendment.

1859. Rising immediately after the mover and seconder of the amendment, he protested against condemning the foreign policy of the Cabinet in the absence of the necessary documents. This was a perfectly reasonable plea. But the necessary documents, that is to say, the Blue Book of Despatches on the Affairs of Italy, were in Mr. Disraeli's own keeping, and he declined, or at least neglected, to produce them. With flagrant inconsistency, he called upon the House to divide the same night, knowing, it is said, that several liberals had not taken the oath, and would therefore be unable to vote. This manœuvre was easily foiled by the simple process of talking against time, and the series of speeches was carried on for three nights. But though Mr. Disraeli, "the Red Indian of debate," as Sir James Graham happily called him, wielded his tomahawk with the utmost freedom, and exhausted his powers of sarcastic ridicule upon the Opposition, he never produced the Blue Book, and the division was taken in ignorance of what it contained. When the House divided, at two o'clock in the morning, the amendment was carried by 13 votes in a House of 637 members.[1] At the last moment, after it was too late, Lord Malmesbury himself laid his own Blue Book upon the table of the House of Lords. Lord Malmesbury[2] cherished to the end of his life the conviction that a perusal of his despatches would have done what so few speeches can do by turning votes in the House of Commons. "Many members," he says, "told him so, over and over again." It is possible that he mistook repetition for numbers. He must certainly be wrong in specifying "Mr. Cobden," whom alone he mentions

June 16.

The division.

The missing Blue Book.

[1] Massimo d'Azeglio, the Sardinian Minister, was so much delighted at the defeat of the Government that he "cheered and drummed on his hat" in the lobby. Persigny was equally jubilant. — Malmesbury's *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 190.

[2] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. pp. 188–189.

as a lost convert. For Cobden did not, and could not, vote either against the amendment or in favour of it, being absent from England at the time. And the counter-assertion has been made. Mr. Gladstone afterwards indicated, not obscurely, that if he had read the Blue Book, he would have voted with Lord Hartington, and not, as he did vote, with the Government. The truth probably is that Mr. Disraeli's opinion of Lord Malmesbury was quite different from his own, and that the real reason why he kept back the despatches was not, as Lord Malmesbury supposed,[1] because he had not read them, but because he had. For while the attitude of the Foreign Secretary was diplomatically correct, he had no settled policy, and in presence of the great forces then moving the world he was as helpless as a child. 1859.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 192.

CHAPTER X

ENGLAND, FRANCE, AND ITALY

1859.

Lord Derby's resignation.

On hearing of his defeat Lord Derby at once resigned, and was consoled, if he needed consolation, with the unusual honour of an extra Garter.[1] By this special instance of her favour Her Majesty rightly interpreted public opinion. For though Lord Derby was never exactly popular, he commanded general admiration by his brilliant gifts, and by his personal indifference to the vulgar rewards of public life. He fell, like Sir Robert Peel in 1835, after a General Election which had increased the numerical strength of his party in the House of Commons. But he had retained office only because his opponents were disorganised, and their reunion was his destruction. In 1858 a veteran Whig declared that the very existence of Lord Derby's Cabinet was contrary to the principles of representative government, and Sir Francis Baring was so far right that it never at any time had a compact majority behind it. But neither had the Cabinet of Lord Palmerston, and some Cabinet there must be. If Lord Derby was willing to go out, Lord Palmerston was at least equally willing to come in. There were, however, some difficulties to be cleared away before that consummation could be reached. He and Lord John Russell had mutually agreed that they would both abide by the choice of the Crown, and that in accordance

[1] That is, a Garter given when there is no vacancy among the Knights.

with Her Majesty's decision either would serve the other. The choice of the Crown, however, took both of them, and everybody else, by surprise. Embarrassed by the pain of distinguishing between two veteran statesmen, Queen Victoria made one of her few political mistakes in her long reign, and sent for Lord Granville. Lord Granville was leader of the Opposition in the House of Lords, and, whether in or out of office, his management of that assembly met with universal approval. But he was thirty years younger than Palmerston, twenty-one years younger than Lord John, and he had not that commanding ability before which all other differences disappear. He boldly accepted the Queen's commission, and approached his two seniors with characteristic tact. Palmerston gave a sort of conditional promise to come in if he liked his colleagues. Lord John stipulated that he should lead the House of Commons, to which Lord Palmerston naturally would not assent. Lord Granville thereupon gave up his task, and the Queen sent for Lord Palmerston, as she had better have done at first. Lord Granville had good reason to regret that he had attempted to perform the impossible. For besides his inevitable failure he suffered severely from the indiscretion of a distinguished friend. Considering the close relations which have often subsisted between the chiefs of English journalism and the confidential advisers of the Crown, it is wonderful how seldom the opportunities thus afforded have been abused. This case was an exception to the rule. Lord Granville repeated to Mr. Delane his conversation with the Queen, and an account of it forthwith appeared in the *Times*. The Queen was justly annoyed, and exclaimed to Lord Clarendon, "Whom am I to trust? Those were my own very words."[1] But, as

1859.

Lord Granville summoned.

His failure.

Granville and Delane.

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 27th June 1859.

1859. a matter of fact, no harm was done, and the fault was Lord Granville's rather than Mr. Delane's. For there was nothing private in what Her Majesty said, it was all perfectly true, and it was the best defence that could be made for her departure from ordinary usage. She simply explained how, besides the delicacy of choosing between Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell, she felt that Lord Granville would be better able to unite the whole Liberal party, and thus enable her Government to be carried on, than Lord John, who represented the popular, or Lord Palmerston, who represented the Conservative wing of the Opposition. Her Majesty did not know, because nobody then knew, how completely Lord Palmerston had at last established his influence over Lord John.

June 12, Palmerston again Premier.

As soon as Lord Palmerston had accepted office he drove down to Pembroke Lodge, and asked Lord John Russell what place he would take. Lord John at once said that he would take the Foreign Office. The Foreign Office had been destined for Lord Clarendon, both by Lord Palmerston and by the Queen. But Lord John persisted, and he was right. For the Italian question had reached a most critical stage, and while Lord Clarendon had receded from the position he took up at the Conference of Paris, Lord John remained the zealous friend of the cause which then engrossed the Liberals of Europe. Lord Clarendon refused to accept any other post, but his brother, Mr. Charles Villiers, entered the Cabinet as President of the Poor Law Board. Sir James Graham bade a final adieu to official life, and the place he had twice filled at the Admiralty was given to the Duke of Somerset. There were three Dukes in this Liberal Cabinet, the other two being the Duke of Argyll, Privy Seal, and the Duke of Newcastle, who, having recovered from

Lord John at the Foreign Office.

his Crimean unpopularity, became Secretary of State for the Colonies. Lord Granville, as he could not be Prime Minister, was content to be again President of the Council, with the more onerous duty of leading the House of Lords. One exclusion was sufficiently remarkable to excite comment. Lord Cranworth was not disqualified either by age or by infirmity from returning to the woolsack, and no man was more respected by the legal profession. But he was superseded, and superseded by a man ten years older than himself. Lord Campbell was now in his eightieth year. He had enjoyed for nine years, as Lord Chief Justice of the Court of Queen's Bench, commonly, though not quite accurately, called the Lord Chief Justice of England, a situation from which only death or voluntary retirement could remove him. But old age had not quenched his assiduous ambition, and he included by anticipation in his *Lives of the Chancellors* his own posthumous autobiography. He was succeeded by the Chief Justice of the Common Pleas, Sir Alexander Cockburn, not a profound lawyer, but a man pre-eminently eloquent and accomplished, perhaps the most consummate actor who ever sat upon the English Bench. Mr. Gladstone, though he had voted with the Conservative Government both before the General Election and after it, became Chancellor of the Exchequer. His acceptance of office in such circumstances required explanation, and being, as Member for a University, unable to address his constituents, he wrote a public letter to Dr. Hawkins, the Provost of Oriel, in which, with singular lack of foresight, he treated the subject of Parliamentary reform as the question of the moment, and expressed a hope that the Government he was about to join would settle it speedily on moderate principles. There was at this time scarcely any per-

1859.

The new Lord Chancellor.

Gladstone's return to the Exchequer.

1859. ceptible difference between Derbyite Conservatives and Palmerstonian Liberals. With Palmerston's Italian policy Mr. Gladstone was in complete agreement. But while Palmerston was in foreign affairs more Liberal than Derby, he was less favourable to Parliamentary reform. The hopes of reformers rested upon the presence in the Cabinet of Lord John Russell, of Mr. Milner Gibson, and of Mr. Gladstone himself. Mr. Gladstone had twice refused office and twice resigned it. If he had pursued this course further he might have become, to borrow his own language about the Peelites, "a roving iceberg on which men could not land with safety, but with which ships might come into perilous collision."[1] A determined attempt was made to prevent the Chancellor of the Exchequer's re-election for Oxford, but he was returned by a substantial majority. When the first meeting of the new Cabinet was held in Downing Street, there was no President of the Board of Trade. That post was reserved for Richard Cobden, who had done more than any member of the Cabinet to raise the condition and promote the welfare of the English people. When Cobden
June 27. arrived at Liverpool from America he found a letter from the Premier offering him the Board of Trade, and another from the Foreign Secretary urging him as a "DUTY" to accept it. All his friends, except John Bright, gave him the same
Cobden's refusal of office. advice. But he firmly and unhesitatingly refused. He had condemned in strong language the foreign policy of Lord Palmerston, and he was not prepared to retract anything he had said. He saw Palmerston when he came to London, and Palmerston pressed him hard. "Why have you come into Parliament, Mr. Cobden?" In vain did the Prime Minister suggest that as Cobden objected to

[1] Russell's *Gladstone*, p. 132.

foreign affairs not being settled in the House of Commons, he should come into the Cabinet, where they really were settled. Cobden smiled, but he did not yield. So they parted — the great man in the world's estimation, and the great man in the history of the world. It would not be true to say that they never met again, for Cobden attended Lady Palmerston's reception two nights afterwards, and fashionable women, who are always well bred, stared at him through their glasses.[1] But none the less the interview was decisive. Mr. Milner Gibson, who became President of the Board of Trade, was an orthodox member of the Manchester School. Only he was not Cobden, and it would have derogated from the single simplicity of Cobden's character to serve a man whom he distrusted.[2] 1859.

The Italian war: June 4. June 24.

Lord Palmerston's second Administration came into office at the height of the Italian War between the two battles of Magenta and Solferino. Four days after Magenta, where the Austrians were completely defeated by General MacMahon, with the loss, besides killed and wounded, of five thousand prisoners and four guns, the Emperor of the French and the King of Sardinia entered Milan, the capital of Lombardy, together. They were a strange contrast. The King, every inch a soldier, delighted in putting himself at the head of his own troops. The Emperor, the least martial of men, only embarrassed his generals by his interference, and would have done better to remain in Paris. For the gallantry which he practised in Italy was not of the military sort. If he had possessed that second sight with which he was sometimes credited he would have seen with astonished eyes the finger of destiny when on the field of Magenta he created

Magenta and Solferino.

[1] Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii. p. 233.

[2] "Milner Gibson has made quite as strong speeches against me as you have," said Palmerston. "I meant what I said," was Cobden's reply.

1859. MacMahon a Duke and a Marshal of France. Within three weeks of Magenta the second and still more decisive engagement of Solferino reduced the Austrian army to an attitude of passive resistance. Meanwhile the Duke of Modena had abdicated, so that all the three Duchies were in the hands of the Italian people. After Solferino, where MacMahon was again the hero of the day, though he was ably assisted by Niel and Canrobert, the Austrians left fourteen guns in the hands of the Allies, and retired within the famous quadrilateral, enclosed by the fortresses of Peschiera, Legnano, Verona, and Mantua. Their position was a very strong one, and they could not have been driven from it without great slaughter. It was possible, though not very probable, that if the war were continued, Prussia, and even the German Confederation, might come to the assistance of Austria rather than see her driven out of Italy altogether. The French losses had already been severe, and they weighed upon the Emperor's mind. At Solferino alone they were by death sixteen hundred, and by wounds eight thousand five hundred, while fifteen hundred men disappeared altogether.[1] Louis Napoleon did not relish the sight of a battle-field, even after a victory. It had a disagreeable effect upon his nerves, although, as Greville most justly remarks,[2] "he has hundreds and thousands of people torn from their families, and without form of trial or the commission of any crime, sends them to linger or perish in pestilential climates, and for *their* sufferings he evinces no pity or any nervous sensations." He determined to make peace, and he selected as his channel of communication with Vienna the Government of Great Britain. Lord Palmerston had announced

June 11.

Proposed terms of peace.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. p. 95.
[2] "Memoirs," 15th July 1859.

that he would continue the neutral policy of his predecessors. But there is such a thing as benevolent neutrality, and the sympathies of the Prime Minister, as well as the Foreign Secretary's, were known to be strongly on the Italian side. Lord John Russell, when he saw the terms proposed, declined to recommend them, or do more than forward them to their destination. 1859.

Thereupon the French Emperor arranged an armistice directly with the Emperor of Austria. A few days later the two Sovereigns met at Villafranca, no one else being present at the interview, and concluded peace. Austria ceded to France, who ceded to Sardinia, the whole of Lombardy, except the fortresses of Mantua and Peschiera. Venetia was to remain part of the Austrian Empire, and at the same time to be a member of an Italian Confederation, under the Presidency of His Holiness the Pope. The Grand Duke of Tuscany, and the Duke of Modena, would return to their respective States, and grant a general amnesty. The news of this peace excited great indignation in Italy, and among the Liberals of Europe, especially the Liberals of England. An accomplished poet of the United States, and a true citizen of the world, James Russell Lowell, expressed in verse his admiring condolence with the Italian nation. The King appended to his signature the words *Per quanto mi regardono*, "So far as I am concerned," which really restricted his approval of the Convention to the clause that made him Sovereign of Lombardy. Cavour, furious at the treachery of the Emperor, refused to acknowledge such a treaty, and at once resigned. The Italians understood the comedy. "He is going," they said, "but he has a return-ticket in his pocket." It is indeed strange that the Peace of Villafranca should have been regarded as

July 7.

July 11, the Peace of Villafranca.

Resignation of Cavour.

1859. serious by statesmen, or even by men of the world. An Austrian province part of a united Italy, and a Pope of the nineteenth century at the head of a political confederation, were ideas so wildly absurd that they should have destroyed for ever the pretence of Napoleon to practical capacity. As for Tuscany and Modena, who was to bring back their former rulers, and keep them on their thrones? The end of the war was welcome in France, where the only friends of Italy were the enemies of the Empire, and where the Church was passionately Austrian. But in Italy the ephemeral popularity of Louis Napoleon was at an end. Before he arrived at Turin, his portraits in the shop-windows had been removed to make way for likenesses of Mazzini and even of Orsini. At Turin he saw Cavour, who had refused to attend the banquet in his honour, excused himself as best he could for his desertion, and promised to plead the cause of Italy in the European Congress he intended to summon.[1] This was the last meeting between the man who had no self but his cause, and the man who had no cause but himself.

Cavour and Bonaparte.

The policy of Lord John Russell, and of the British Government, may be summed up in the simple phrase, "Italy for the Italians." The Peace of Villafranca was therefore far from satisfactory either to Lord Palmerston or to Lord John, and Palmerston drily remarked that the Emperor's motto, *L'Italie rendue à elle-même* had become *L'Italie vendue à l'Autriche*. Having been told by Count Persigny that his master desired a European Congress, Lord John replied that, before considering such a proposal, the Government must ascertain whether Austria would be part of the proposed Italian Confederation; whether the Kings of Sardinia and of Naples would be free to enter it

The proposed Congress.

July 16.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. pp. 117–118.

or not as they pleased; whether the Dukes would be brought back to their Duchies by force; and whether Rome and the Romagna were still to be occupied by French and Austrian troops. If Austria were to be included in the Confederation, he held that it would be Austrian, not Italian, because she could carry with her the Pope, the two Dukes, and the King of Naples. To Mr. Corbett, the British Minister at Florence, who was in perfect accord with Signor Buoncompagni, the Piedmontese Administrator, Lord John wrote urging that a representative Assembly should be convoked to decide the future of Tuscany. In a subsequent despatch, addressed to Lord Cowley at Paris and Lord Augustus Loftus at Vienna, he declared that "the restoration of the Grand Duke of Tuscany and the Duke of Modena by foreign forces would be to return to that system of foreign interference which for upwards of forty years had been the misfortune of Italy and the danger of Europe." Lord Palmerston held similar language. He told Persigny in French that if Austria were not carefully excluded from all participation of any kind in the affairs of Italy, French blood had been shed in vain, and the glory of the Emperor would be short-lived. To Lord Cowley Palmerston warmly defended Cavour, adding that the people of the Duchies had as good a right to change their rulers as the people of England, France, Belgium, and Sweden. Count Rechberg, who had succeeded Count Buol as Chancellor of the Austrian Empire, was extremely indignant at the conduct of the English Ministers, and he met with some sympathy in very high quarters at home. "We did not protest against the war," said the Queen: "we can hardly protest against the peace."[1] Her Majesty must have forgotten that Lord Derby and Lord

1859.

English support of Italy.

Objections of the Queen.

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 312.

1859. Malmesbury did protest against the war with considerable vigour, and in spite of their Austrian proclivities condemned Austria for beginning it. Neither the Queen nor the Prince appreciated the profoundly sagacious policy of Cavour. They were favourable to Austria, and to the restoration of the Dukes. But Lord Palmerston, after consulting the Cabinet, informed Her Majesty that if the advice of her Ministers were not accepted, they would resign. The inestimable service which they rendered to Italy was not rendered to Italy alone. These two veteran English statesmen, united at last after so many differences, stood for the people against the Sovereign in the cause of freedom and emancipation throughout Europe. There are, indeed, few epochs upon which Englishmen can look back with greater pride than this critical year 1859, when the fate of Italy, and the rights of nationalities, were trembling in the balance. If England had drawn the sword for Italian independence, there would have been few juster wars. But without resorting to that questionable extremity, by prudent counsel, by moral influence, by loyal support, the Government of England, with the English nation behind it, freed the Italian Peninsula from foreign rule. The shallow doctrine, which ignorance of history is apt to foster, that there can be no effective intervention without shedding of blood, has seldom been more aptly refuted. The Peace of Villafranca was afterwards formally translated into the Treaty of Zurich. But the Treaty of Zurich was abortive. It was dead before it was born. Early in the autumn the Assembly of the Romagna resolved that they had no use for the temporal power of the Pope, which they proceeded to cast aside, and Tuscany sent a deputation to Victor Emmanuel with a prayer that she might be annexed to Piedmont. The King could

The firmness of Ministers.

The influence of England.

Nov. 10.

do no more at that moment than promise to bring their wishes under the notice of the great Powers. But before the end of the year the Romagna, with Modena and Parma, had been formed into the Province of Æmilia, the Treaty of Zurich notwithstanding. 1859. The consolidation of Italy: Parma, Modena, and the Romagna.

Meanwhile the erratic conduct of the French Emperor had excited in England some not unfounded apprehension and alarm. He was not generally credited with a single-minded zeal for the cause of Italy, his relations with Russia were suspiciously close, and Austria figured in picturesque rhetoric as the first leaf of the artichoke which the ogre was devouring. The Queen's Speech announced an increase of the Navy, beyond what the late Government had proposed, and Mr. Sidney Herbert, the Secretary for War, continued the organisation of the volunteers which General Peel had begun. But these measures did not suffice to restore confidence in nervous citizens, and the aged Lord Lyndhurst, who could remember the whole of the great French War, pleaded in earnest accents for the establishment of a military force sufficient to cope with any possible combination of hostile Powers. Lord Lyndhurst's speech was made in the House of Lords two days before the conclusion of the armistice, and he undoubtedly spoke for a very large body of public opinion. The confidence which Mr. Bright expressed in the Emperor Napoleon was not widely shared. Most people were inclined to agree with Lord Lyndhurst when he said, "If I am asked whether I cannot place reliance on the Emperor Napoleon, I reply with confidence that I cannot, because he is in a situation in which he cannot place reliance on himself." But the complete insurance for which Lord Lyndhurst argued involves a cost which the richest nation cannot afford to pay. In public, as English suspicion of the French Emperor. July 5. The policy of insurance.

1859. in private life, some risks must be run. England was far better prepared for war in 1859 than she had been ten years, or even five years, earlier, when it was quite conceivable that the French Emperor would join the Czar. To strengthen the fleet was a sure and safe policy, which Lord Derby took up, and Lord Palmerston carried on. To raise such an army as Lord Lyndhurst demanded would have impoverished the nation in a fit of senseless panic. Lord Lyndhurst made no impression upon the Leader of the Conservative party in the House of Commons. Mr. Disraeli was fond of sneering at the Manchester School. But at this stage of his career he not infrequently adopted their arguments, and reproduced them as his own. He did so in the debate on Mr. Gladstone's Budget for the year 1859, which was not introduced till the middle of July. Reform had been very reasonably postponed till the following year, and the principal business of the session was therefore financial. There was an estimated deficit of nearly five millions in the revenue, and this was mainly supplied by adding fourpence to the income tax, and collecting it in one half year, which amounted to an annual addition of eightpence, or thirteen pence in all. This stiff turn of the screw was borne with remarkable patience, and even Mr. Disraeli did not object. But he took the opportunity to deliver an eloquent lecture, which might have come from Cobden, and was praised by Bright, on the need for strict economy in the spending departments. He admitted that the Civil Service Estimates could not be reduced. Expenditure, he said, depended on policy, and a policy of provocation was ruinous. At the time when this speech was made the Army Estimates did not much exceed thirteen millions, and the Navy Estimates were considerably less. Mr. Gladstone,

High taxation.

Disraeli's plea for economy.

who had to answer Mr. Disraeli, must in his heart have agreed with him, and so did other members of the Cabinet. But Lord Palmerston never cared much for economy, and he cared less for it the older he grew. The struggle on this point between him and his Chancellor of the Exchequer was only terminated by death. 1859.

The news from China was not favourable to the cause of retrenchment. In pursuance of his instructions from Lord Malmesbury, Mr. Bruce, the British Minister, left Shanghai in the month of June for Pekin, where, by the Treaty of Tient-sin, the Emperor was to receive him. Mr. Bruce had been warned not to go by sea, and up the river Pei-ho, but to take the land route through Peh-tang. His instructions left him free to adopt either alternative. But he discovered that according to Chinese ideas the approach to Pekin by water was the road of honour, and that those who came through Peh-tang acknowledged their inferior position. Mr. Ward, the American Minister, agreed to do so, and his conduct was approved by President Buchanan. Mr. Bruce deemed it beneath the dignity of his country, and he was received at the mouth of the Pei-ho by a naval squadron under Admiral Hope. The French Minister, M. de Bourboulon, accompanied him. The mouth of the river was found to be strongly barricaded, and the banks lined with forts. No Chinaman in authority could be seen, and nothing could be extracted from the peasants except that the barriers were meant to keep out pirates. The Admiral should have sent for reinforcements, and Mr. Bruce should have asked for further orders. But they despised the enemy, and determined to force a passage. British gunboats attempted to remove the obstructions, while a storming party attacked the forts on shore. The results were

Renewed war in China.

June 25.

1859.

Repulse of Admiral Hope.

disastrous, and the enterprise entirely failed. The French losses were trifling, for very few Frenchmen were engaged. But the British casualties on land were two hundred and fifty, while on board the gunboats, two of which fell into the enemy's hands, twenty-five men were killed, and ninety-three were wounded, including the gallant Admiral himself. The little expedition returned ingloriously to Shanghai, and another Chinese war became inevitable. For Prince Sang-ko-lin-sin, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, issued a triumphant manifesto proclaiming the defeat of the barbarians, which would have made the position of both French and English in China intolerable if nothing had been done. Active measures could not, however, be taken till the following spring, and it was in the meantime arranged between the two Governments that a joint expedition should be sent to demand redress.

India: Lord Canning at Lucknow.

India was still suffering from the results of the Mutiny. Active resistance to British rule had ceased, and Lord Canning found in his autumnal tour through the Central Provinces that everything was quiet. At Lucknow he issued a Proclamation giving security of title to the owners of the soil. This was represented at the time, and has been represented since, as an acknowledgment that his former Proclamation, to which Lord Ellenborough excepted, was wrong. Lord Canning himself never admitted anything of the kind. It was his avowed object to pacify Oude, and in this he succeeded. When the landlords came in, and declared their loyalty, he re-granted them the rights they had formerly possessed. That was the extent of his confiscation. He created a legal fiction for the purpose of doing substantial justice. The idea was thoroughly

English, for in the strict theory of the law no one is the absolute owner of English soil. If he holds of no one else, a landowner holds of the King. Lord Canning's policy, from which he never swerved, was first to check rebellion, and secondly to establish a permanent system of tenure. In the former object he succeeded. In the second he failed, because his new arrangement provided only for the landlords, and left the bulk of the cultivators merely tenants at will. At Cawnpore, where he held a Durbar, the Viceroy took a further conciliatory step, and announced that, in consideration of the loyalty displayed by native princes, the right to adopt heirs would be recognised, in the sphere of sovereignty as well as in the sphere of property. The refusal to recognise it, not originated by Lord Dalhousie, as is sometimes said, but by Lord Wellesley a generation before him, had been felt as a grievance by native chiefs against whom no charge of misgovernment could be made.

1859.

Full acknowledgment of the right of adoption.

The most serious questions in India at the close of 1859 were military and financial. Ten thousand native troops claimed their discharge on the ground that they were enlisted to serve the Company, and not to serve the Crown. This claim had to be accepted, being in fact irrefragable. But the native army was too large, and its diminution was not a calamity. Far graver was the financial condition which the Mutiny had produced. So bad was it that a Financial Member of Council was for the first time appointed to deal with it. Mr. James Wilson, Vice-President of the Board of Trade, and founder of the *Economist*, a very able theorist, and a thoroughly competent man of business, was selected for the post. Mr. Wilson reformed the Indian Budget, and introduced an income tax. But he soon succumbed to the climate,

Indian Finance.

1859. and was cut off in the full vigour of manhood within a few months of his financial statement.[1]

Dec. 28, death of Macaulay. At the close of 1859 Thomas Babington, Lord Macaulay, died suddenly in his library at his London country-house on Campden Hill, in his sixtieth year. Although his physical health had for some time been feeble, his mental powers had suffered no abatement, and the last piece of work he finished, the "Life of Pitt," which he contributed to the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, is equal to anything that came from his pen. He never found an opportunity of speaking in the House of Lords, and his *History* is a colossal fragment, which Lord Stanhope thought fit to connect with a History of his own. Macaulay was buried in Westminster Abbey beside the illustrious dead with whom so much of his life had been passed. His eloquent style was not an unmixed benefit to him. It did something to obscure the fearless honesty of his judgments, the simple dignity of his moral standard, the zeal for his country's honour which felt a stain like a wound, and his disinterested devotion to the pursuit of truth. English to the verge of insularity, patriotic to the verge of partiality, he loved England too wisely and too well ever to speak of her with boastful exaggeration. His book is a school of civic virtue and international sympathy. It makes foreigners think better of Englishmen, and Englishmen think better of foreigners.

> That man's the true cosmopolite
> Who loves his native country best.

Throughout the autumn and winter of 1859 the working classes were less interested in the

[1] For protesting in a public document against Mr. Wilson's Financial Reforms, Sir Charles Trevelyan, the Governor of Madras, was recalled by Sir Charles Wood, the Secretary of State for India.

Italian question, or in Parliamentary reform, than in the great strike of the London builders. The builders demanded a nine hours' day, and when it was refused, twenty-four thousand of them left work. Thereupon the masters came to an agreement among themselves that they would not employ trade unionists, and required every man they engaged to sign a statement that he was not a member of any union. At the close of the year, after the employers had lost much, and the employed had suffered more, a solution came from an unexpected quarter. Lord St. Leonards, not by any means a professional peacemaker, suggested a compromise to which in February 1860 both sides subscribed. The demand for a reduction of hours was withdrawn, and so was the prohibition of unionists. There was hung up instead of the latter, in every builder's yard, a statement of the law on combinations, which must have been extremely difficult to frame. Thus, owing to defective organisation, rather than to the merits of the case, the unionists suffered a severe defeat, for the object of the strike was not obtained, while the agreement which the masters withdrew was an afterthought, and no part of the original dispute. Trade Unions were still in their infancy and their power was slight. But Trade Councils, representing all kinds of manual labour, had before 1861 been established in London, Edinburgh, Glasgow, Liverpool, and Sheffield.[1]

1859.

The London building strike.

The French scare was for some time abated in a curious and unexpected way. Mr. Cobden, though not an ostentatious pietist or philanthropist, was one of those people who cannot be happy unless they are doing good. He was about to spend the winter at Paris for private reasons, and it struck him that he might be of service to his

The Commercial Treaty with France.

[1] *History of Trade Unionism*, B. and S. Webb, p. 223.

1859. country if he could establish better commercial relations between England and France. His main object, which he put before all others, was peace. But at the same time he felt keenly, in common with most men of business, that the English and French nations were prevented by artificial barriers from trading together for their mutual advantage. The repeal of the Corn Laws, of which he was the chief author, had by no means cleared the English tariff of all protective duties, and the French tariff in 1859 was not so much protective as prohibitive. The French Emperor, though he did not understand political economy, was inclined to Free Trade by the success of Sir Robert Peel's financial reforms, and his cousin Prince Napoleon, who exercised a considerable, if an involuntary, influence over his mind, had thoroughly grasped the doctrines of economic science. Cobden was in correspondence with Michel Chevalier, as zealous a free trader as himself, and M. Rouher, the French Minister of Commerce, the ablest man in the Emperor's Cabinet, agreed substantially with Chevalier. These facts, and his own sanguine temperament, led Cobden to believe that he might usefully undertake informal negotiations with the French Government, if his own Government would give him the requisite authority. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary received his proposal with civil coldness. They belonged to a generation which considered trade beneath the notice of statesmen. This view was not perhaps so wholly irrational as it seems. For commercial prosperity is mainly the creation of individual enterprise, while few things are more odious than a trade war, such as the Opium War with China in 1840, for which, by the way, Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell were both responsible. But the one incontestable benefit which Govern-

Coldness of Palmerston and Russell.

ments can confer upon commerce is to remove hindrances from international traffic. When Cobden called at the Foreign Office, he found, to his great amusement, that Lord John was absorbed in the affairs of Morocco. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, to whom he paid a visit at Hawarden, entered fully into his projects, and gave them an enthusiastic support. 1859. Gladstone's cordiality.

Cobden, thus fortified, arrived in Paris on the 18th of October, and a few days afterwards had an interview at Chantilly with the British Ambassador. To a man of Lord Cowley's training and habits, the whole matter was strange, and even repugnant. But he behaved throughout the transaction, as Cobden often testified, with a self-forgetful loyalty which did him the highest honour. Practically superseded by a man who necessarily understood the subject far better than any diplomatist, he sank all private and personal feeling in the promotion of a great public end. The utmost secrecy was observed, for fear that the protected interests should take alarm, so much so that when Cobden, after seeing Lord Cowley, dined with Chevalier and Rouher, they adopted the precaution of conspirators, as in fact, and in the best sense, they were.[1] Before the end of October Cobden had been received at Saint Cloud by the Emperor, to whom he frankly expressed his wish, and the wish of the British Government, for a Commercial Treaty with France, explaining, by Mr. Gladstone's desire, that as two millions of terminable annuities were about to fall in, the opportunity was favourable for reductions in the British tariff. The Emperor showed from the first a most friendly spirit, and explained that by the French Constitution, if so it could be called, a treaty, and a treaty alone, would enable him to alter the customs without the assent Cobden in Paris. Oct. 27, Cobden and the Emperor.

[1] Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii. p. 243.

1859. of the Legislative Body. At the same time he did not disguise his conviction that to lower these duties would be unpopular, adding in words of profound significance, "We make revolutions in France, not reforms." Cobden prudently declined an invitation to Compiègne, and Count Walewski, the Foreign Minister, was carefully kept in the dark. "The protected interests combine," said the Emperor, "but the general public do not." This phrase must have made a lasting impression upon Mr. Gladstone, to judge by the frequency with which he employed it. But Cobden promptly quoted the opposite example of the Anti-Corn Law League.

1860. The Commercial Treaty of 1860 was the work in Paris of the Emperor, his Minister of Commerce, Mr. Cobden, and M. Michel Chevalier, who held no Ministerial office, but was a Professor at the College of France. The principal Minister of State, M. Fould, was hostile, and only yielded to the Emperor's orders. Count Walewski, who knew nothing about it, had resigned on other grounds before it was concluded. Although Cobden had throughout acted with the knowledge of Her Majesty's Ministers as the representative of Great Britain, it was not till the middle of January 1860 that Lord John Russell made him a joint Plenipotentiary with Lord Cowley, and before the end of the month the Treaty was signed. The signatories were Lord Cowley and Mr. Cobden for England; M. Baroche, Acting Chief of the Foreign Office, and M. Rouher, for France. Meanwhile the Emperor had announced the fact, though not the terms of the Treaty, in an open letter to M. Fould, which had a very different effect in the two very different countries concerned. In England, where the Press throughout the summer and autumn had teemed with abuse of the Emperor, the reaction

Cobden's receipt of full powers.

Jan. 15.

Revulsion of feeling in England.

was so sudden and violent that M. Baroche asked Cobden if he could not do something to restrain the extravagance of the compliments showered upon the Emperor from the other side of the Channel, which made people think, he said, that the Treaty could not be beneficial to France. In France itself, on the other hand, such opposition as at that time was possible to any imperial act found an eloquent spokesman in M. Thiers, who was throughout his versatile career a consistent Protectionist. But the Emperor was omnipotent, and the Protectionists, or Prohibitionists, could do no more than grumble. He could hardly have given a stronger proof of the value he set upon the English alliance than by adding the odium of a lowered tariff to the unpopularity of the Italian War. 1860. Unpopularity of the Treaty in France.

The principal provisions of the Treaty were these. France lowered at once the duties on English coal and iron. She also covenanted that after the 1st of October 1861 the duties on imported goods from the United Kingdom should not exceed 30 per cent of their value. If this figure appears to us enormous, it must be remembered that the previous tariff practically excluded British goods from French markets altogether. England, on the other hand, would immediately abolish all duties on manufactured goods, such as gloves, stockings, lace, machinery, and silk. The duty on French wine would be reduced at once to three shillings a gallon, while after the 1st of April 1861 it would be one shilling a gallon for wine under fifteen degrees of proof spirit, eighteen pence under twenty-six degrees, and two shillings above that figure. The tax on French brandy would be brought down from fifteen shillings a gallon to eight and fivepence. Neither country was to levy a duty on the export of coal, and each country Provisions of the Treaty.

1860. bound itself to give the other the treatment of the most favoured nation. The assent of the British Parliament was to be a condition of the Treaty taking effect.[1] But having been thus adopted, it was to remain in force for ten years, after which it could be terminated at twelve months' notice.

The Treaty and the Budget. The Treaty was not laid on the table of the House till the night of the Budget, which was for a short time delayed by Mr. Gladstone's illness.[2]

Feb. 10. It came on, however, earlier than usual, and excited intense interest throughout the country. Mr. Gladstone explained and defended his proposals in a speech of which a political opponent, Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton, said that it would be a monument of English eloquence so long as the English language remained. Not less admirable than its eloquence is the lucidity of its arrangement and the cogency of its logic. Besides the changes made in accordance with the Treaty, this great financial scheme repealed the paper duty, and removed the taxes upon various articles of food. The number of commodities subject to customs was reduced from four hundred and sixty to forty-eight. As a set-off the income tax was raised from ninepence to tenpence in the pound, with an exemption of threepence for incomes of less than a hundred and fifty pounds. The Treaty was what, in the first instance, the Chancellor of the Exchequer had to defend, and he performed this part of his task with wonderful skill. Throwing aside altogether the notion of a bargain, with its nicely calculated less or more, he showed, as he could show, that everything which England undertook to do was for her own advantage, and would have been so

[1] This was necessary, because it involved changes of taxation.

[2] His doctor said he ought to take two months' rest. He took two days. — "Greville Memoirs," 15th Feb., 1860.

even if she had got nothing in return. In reply to the argument that the commodities relieved were the luxuries of the rich, and not the necessities of the poor, he triumphantly pointed out that the reason why the poor had not been able to consume them was because the duties were prohibitive. Thus the effect of the Budget and the Treaty would be to extend trade by increasing consumption, to raise the standard of comfort among the labouring classes, to simplify finance, to open new markets for men of business, and to be rewarded by France for conferring benefits upon ourselves. But that was not all. Whatever was given to France was given to the world, and it was not merely French goods, but the manufactured produce of the globe, which would henceforth enter British ports duty free. The practical defence of the Treaty was unassailable. The House of Commons is a practical body, and a hostile amendment aimed at the principle of the Budget was defeated by a majority of 116. The feeling for the Treaty in the great centres of industry was so enthusiastic that the Government were supported in the lobby by many members of the Opposition. 1860.

The policy of commercial treaties.

But there is another side to the question, and one which free traders cannot ignore. Great contempt was expressed then, and has been expressed since, for the mere theorist who objects on principle to commercial treaties altogether. The Treaty with France lasted twenty years, and within that time the value of British exports to France had risen from nine millions sterling to twenty-five millions, while the imports from France to England had become forty-five millions, instead of thirteen. And yet perhaps the mere theorist, represented in 1860 by Lord Grey, may have something to say for his mere theory. "Take care of your imports," he says, "and your exports will take care

1860. of themselves." This, he will be told, is the "verbal jingle of an abstract dogma," though, if it be not concrete, it is nothing. The French Treaty of 1860 had one great and beneficial result unconnected with cheap tariffs or dear. It tended to preserve peace between England and France. But from a purely economic point of view it is open to a criticism which Gladstone did not really answer. It gave the Protectionists a handle of which they were not slow to make use. "What," they asked, "has become of fighting hostile tariffs with free imports? You tell us that Free Trade is an absolute good, to be adopted for its own sake, and you offer it to France as a bribe for mitigating the Protection which you say injures her own people, and hampers her in neutral markets when she competes with yourselves. How can we believe that you would enter into these compromises and understandings if you sincerely held the doctrine that the only weapon against Protection was Free Trade?" Commercial treaties have been serviceable for the moment, and have mitigated evils which might otherwise have become intolerable. But they have propped up a modified form of Protection, and kept it on its legs, while the wall of prohibition which surrounded France in 1859 would long ago have fallen by its own weight.

Scarcely had the Treaty and the Budget been published, when suspicion and dread of the French Emperor were once more excited in England, and not this time in England alone. Just before Christmas 1859, there had appeared in Paris another pamphlet from the ready pen of M. de la Guerronière, called "The Pope and the Congress." Everybody read it, for everybody knew it to be Louis Napoleon's. "I did not write it," said the Emperor to Lord Cowley, "but I agree with all its doctrines." The upshot of this manifesto was that the Pope should

"The Pope and the Congress."

abandon the States of the Church, and concentrate himself in the patrimony of St. Peter, where he would be like the head of a family, with children loyal though few. The immediate effect of the publication was that Austria refused to attend the forthcoming Congress unless the French Government repudiated the pamphlet. Failing to obtain a disavowal from his master, Walewski resigned, and was succeeded as Foreign Minister by M. Thouvenel, French Ambassador at Constantinople. The Congress was abandoned, and some other mode of settling the Italian question had to be found. The Holy Father, in a most unholy temper, denounced the tract as "a notorious example of hypocrisy, and a despicable mass of contradictions." The active mind of Lord Palmerston was at work in devising means for the liberation of Italy. In a long and able Memorandum, drawn up for the use of the Cabinet,[1] and written on the assumption that the Congress would meet, he urged that before entering it England should come to a preliminary agreement with France and Sardinia, for the purpose of preventing foreign interference with Italy. "But such an engagement might lead us into war. War with whom? War with Austria. Well, suppose it did, would that war be one of great effort and expense? Clearly not." This was strong language. But Palmerston went so far as to say that, Congress or no Congress, such was his policy, and sooner than give it up he would give up office. He was supported in his Italian propensities by Lord John Russell and Mr. Gladstone. The rest of the Cabinet were unsympathetic, and this Memorandum did not meet with their approval. Nevertheless, Lord John sent to Paris and Vienna, in the middle of January, a despatch which went a long way towards the realisation of Palmerston's

1860.

Jan. 4.

Abandonment of the Congress.

Jan. 5, Palmerston's Memorandum.

[1] Ashley's *Life*, vol. ii. pp. 174–180.

1860. views. It proposed that France and Austria should not interfere by force in Italy unless unanimously requested to do so by the five great Powers; that the French Emperor should agree with the Pope to evacuate Rome; that the Powers should abstain from negotiating about the government of Venetia; and that the King of Sardinia should be requested by England and France not to send troops into Central Italy until the Central Italian States should have decided upon their own future. France approved of all these propositions. Austria replied that she could not formally bind herself not to intervene in Italy, though she had no desire to do so. The end was in sight. A few days later Rattazzi, who had been a mere stopgap, resigned, and Cavour became once more the First Minister of Victor Emmanuel.

The Peace of Villafranca and the Treaty of Zurich could not be carried out. Austria would not risk a man to set the Duchies on their legs again, or to restore the Pope's authority in the Legations. The reasons which led to Cavour's retirement had for the most part ceased to operate, and at such a critical moment he was indispensable to the King. It was now evident that Central Italy would be united to Piedmont, and it began once more to be whispered that the Emperor Napoleon would have his price. The annexation of Nice and Savoy to France had been for some months a subject of current rumour. Both the Emperor and Cavour always denied that any arrangement for their cession had been made. This was literally true. For it was part of the understanding at Plombières that Venetia should be given to Sardinia, and Venetia still belonged to Austria. On the other hand, Central Italy might be regarded as an equivalent, and such was the opinion of Napoleon the Third. The indignation

Louis Napoleon's price. Nice and Savoy.

of the British government was great, and indeed excessive. Writing to Sir James Hudson before the whole truth was accurately known, Lord John Russell desired him to tell Cavour that the cession of Savoy would be a blot in the scutcheon of an ancient and illustrious house. That was a question for Victor Emmanuel, not for any Englishman, and Lord John might have known that Cavour would do nothing unworthy of an Italian patriot. 1860. Feb. 3, Lord John's protest.

Events were marching so rapidly that it was difficult to keep pace with them. Two days, the 11th and 12th of March, were appointed for taking the sense of the people in Tuscany, Parma, Modena, and the Romagna. The last three districts, having been formed into the province of Emilia, voted together by ballot with universal suffrage upon the question whether they should be annexed to Piedmont, or become an independent kingdom. For the former alternative there were 427,512 suffrages, for the latter 756. In Tuscany, under the same conditions, the minority amounted to the more respectable figure of 15,000. But they were not a twentieth part of those who declared for annexation. The homage of his new territories was presented to Victor Emmanuel at Turin by Signor Farini, the distinguished historian, from Emilia, and from Tuscany by Baron Ricasoli of Florence, a man more worthy than Rienzi to be called the last of the tribunes. Austria and the deposed Dukes were dignified, or at least silent, witnesses of these transactions. But the Vicar of Christ, whose troops had committed in 1859 the most abominable outrages at Perugia under an infamous ruffian called Schmidt, was unable to restrain his feelings. The name of God was much upon his lips, though not always in prayer, and he comprehended every Italian patriot, from the King of Sardinia downwards, in a comprehensive Declaration of the Italian people for union. The Papal anathema.

1860. anathema called the Major Excommunication. Even the article of death only suspended, and did not, if the patriot recovered, annul this terrible curse.

A more serious difficulty was, however, impending. By this time Cavour was well acquainted with the determination of the French Emperor to exact his pound of flesh. The announcement had been made by M. Thouvenel through Baron Talleyrand, the French Minister at Turin, and Cavour had replied that the wishes of the Savoyards must be respected. Lord John again broke out. In answer to a French despatch explaining and excusing the act, he wrote to Lord Cowley that the Government could neither admit the force of M. Thouvenel's reasons, nor subscribe to the justice of his principles. Warming with his theme, as he often did, and referring to the "natural frontier" which the Emperor desired, he pointed out that Europe, especially Germany, had good cause for alarm, because, if the natural frontier of France on the south was the Alps, on the east it was the Rhine. This undignified scolding, which was not meant to be followed by action, irritated without alarming the Emperor, and did no good to Italy. The Emperor had engaged that he would not annex without the consent of the Powers. But their refraining from active interference was interpreted by him to mean their consent. Although he acquiesced in the abandonment of Savoy, Cavour resisted to the last the cession of Nice, and it was only when the Emperor threatened to occupy Florence that he gave way. The Treaty was signed on the 24th of March, and ratified in the Chamber on the 12th of April by 229 votes against 33. Among the 33 was Giuseppe Garibaldi, a native of Nice, the first living leader of irregular troops, and one of the noblest, though not one of the wisest, of men.

Cavour's reluctance.

Then, when the die was cast, and the irrevocable step had been taken, the people of Savoy and Nice were asked to vote, not between Italy and France, but between France and anarchy. Scarcely any one could be found in the circumstances to express a negative opinion. Yet even after the question had been finally decided, Lord John Russell continued to rake up the ashes, and to blow the coals. He found an opportunity in the protest of Switzerland against a departure from the Treaty of Vienna, which had neutralised Chablais and Faucigny in Upper Savoy. But nothing could be obtained from France except a formal acknowledgment, practically worthless, that these districts should be taken over with the immunity which belonged to them. "Now," said Count Cavour to the French Minister when the Treaty of Turin had been signed, "now we are accomplices." The effect of the annexation in England was tremendous. It brought back all the feelings of distrust which the Commercial Treaty had banished, and produced a panic due much more to indignation than to fear. Lord John did his best to fan the flames. He told the House of Commons that the annexation of Savoy would probably lead to other aggressive acts on the part of France, and to the general disturbance of Europe. So proud was he of this utterance that he immediately wrote to Lord Cowley, "I have just spoken a speech which may rebound in Europe. I hope the effect may be to rescue Chablais and Faucigny. We cannot see Swiss independence threatened without emotion."[1] The effect was nothing of the kind, and Swiss independence was never threatened at all. Persigny was furious at this speech, and Count Flahault, on his way to Paris, called upon Lord Palmerston in the hope of obtaining a few soft

1860.

The Treaty of Turin: its bad effect in England.

March 26, Lord John's speech.

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 321.

1860. words. But Palmerston was on his highest horse, and declared his absolute agreement with everything Lord John had said. If the Emperor wanted war, he would probably have to fight Europe. But England was quite prepared to meet him alone, and so forth. This was a ridiculous quarrel, inasmuch as the parties to it were really at one. A war between England and Austria would have been conceivable, however unjustifiable, because one wanted the liberation of Italy, and the other her servitude. Palmerston and Louis Napoleon, different as their means and motives might be, were aiming at an identical object, and it was less than three months since the former had proposed an alliance with the latter. Yet there can be no doubt that the Prime Minister accurately reflected the prevailing temper of the time. It is now clear enough that Louis Napoleon, though a dreaming sentimentalist, had a small, narrow mind, which was incapable of deep insight or long foresight, and that in the middle of such schemes as he could devise he often lost his head. But in 1860 he was regarded as a Machiavelli, and the profoundest meanings were attributed to his lightest acts. The war with Austria, the Peace of Villafranca, the proposal of a European Congress, the pamphlet which prevented the Congress from meeting, the promise to restore the Dukes, the failure to fulfil that promise, the liberation of Lombardy, the seizure of Savoy, were really proofs of a vacillating temper and a confused brain. But at the time they appeared to casual, if not to close, observers as links in a chain to be fastened round Europe after the fashion of the real Napoleon.

A quarrel without a cause.

The Imperial bogey.

July 2, the increase of volunteers.

In England the volunteer movement received a powerful stimulus. The wholesome practice of drilling became the rage, the Queen inaugurated the National Riflemen at Wimbledon, and a

French invasion was hourly expected. Yet, whatever else the Emperor had done, he had given incontestable proofs of the value he set upon the English alliance, and among his many enormities the annexation of Savoy and Nice is comparatively trifling. To the nerves of the simple folk who believed him when he said he was making war for an idea the shock was naturally sharp. That statesmen and men of the world like Palmerston and Cowley should have been astonished and horrified is a singular phænomenon. The throne of Louis Napoleon, in spite of solemn plausibilities, was never for a moment secure. His Italian policy had deeply offended the Church, and was not popular with the nation. He wanted something to set off against its odium, and an addition of territory was just the thing. The excuse that a Central Italian Power might invade France if it commanded the passes of the Alps seemed at the time what the French call *saugrenu*, or impudently absurd. A different view would be taken of it now, when Italy has an army fit to be compared with the army of France. Savoy, it must be borne in mind, was not Italian in race or language. If it was anything except Savoyard, it was Swiss, and the dialect spoken was a form of French. It belonged to the reigning house of Sardinia, and not to Italy at all. The county of Nice was in truth a district of Provence, and far more French than Italian. If to Henry the Fourth Paris was worth a mass, Italy was of more value to Italians than an isolated corner of Eastern Switzerland, and an outlying district of Southern France. The territory which Victor Emmanuel gained was thoroughly Italian. That which he lost was not. 1860.

Much of this session was wasted by the Government and the House of Commons in pompous trifling with a Reform Bill. Lord John Russell The second edition of the Reform Bill.

1860. March 1. was determined to introduce it on the precise anniversary of his first great measure, and he had his way. He could not have chosen a more appropriate method of contrasting the fierce excitement of 1831 with the torpid apathy of 1860, when hardly any one wanted reform, and almost every one dreaded dissolution. The Bill in itself had the merit of simplicity, and was moderate to a fault. It lowered the county franchise to ten pounds, and the borough franchise to six pounds. The only other operative clauses proposed a mild little scheme of redistribution by taking away one member from each of the twenty-five smallest towns which had two, and giving that number of seats to populous districts insufficiently represented. The Opposition would not divide against the second reading of the Bill. They could hardly have done so with decency after bringing in a Bill of their own the year before. They resorted to the tactics of delay, and they were justified by the event. The debate was prolonged from the 19th of March to the 3rd of May, and the House was several times within an ace of being counted out. April 19. In the middle of it the Lords, on the motion of Lord Grey, appointed a Committee to inquire whether the number of new voters would not exceed the figure of two hundred thousand estimated by the Government. Mr. Bright, on behalf of the Radicals, gave the measure a cold support, and Sir Edward Bulwer Lytton thundered against it in the most elaborate of all his orations. But it was stage thunder. The whole discussion was hollow and unreal. The prospect of a similar experience on the motion for going into Committee was too much for Ministers, and after defeating an adjournment by 21, Lord John, this time without visible regret, withdrew the Bill. The Parliament of 1859 would not have reform.

A much graver and far more interesting problem was raised by the Bill for repealing the duty on paper. This "tax on knowledge," as it was called, had long been an object of Radical assault, and Mr. Milner Gibson, now President of the Board of Trade, had carried, as a private member, an abstract Resolution against it, with the assent of the Conservative leaders. The main object of Mr Gibson and his supporters was to encourage cheap literature, and make penny newspapers pay. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, in his Budget speech, dwelt rather upon the multitude of industries for which paper was employed. The Bill was read a second time by a majority of 53, and had passed safely through Committee when a strong and sudden opposition was raised to it, ostensibly on economic grounds. When the third reading was moved, Sir Stafford Northcote, already known as a sound and lucid financier, who had learned his business under Gladstone at the Board of Trade, moved a hostile amendment, on the ground that the state of the revenue was unfavourable to the remission of the tax. Some miscalculations had affected the surplus. But the probable expenditure on the campaign in China was the chief argument employed. Mr. Gladstone strenuously insisted that the House of Commons ought not to disturb trade by reversing at the last moment its own fiscal votes, and he succeeded in carrying his Bill by a narrow majority of nine.[1] The smallness of the figure emboldened the House of Lords, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not loyally supported by his own chief. In his account of the debate and the division the Prime Minister wrote to the Queen, "This may probably encourage the House of Lords to assert itself, and Viscount

1860.

May 8.

[1] This is the precise majority by which the Grand Remonstrance was carried.

1860. Palmerston is bound in duty to say that, if they do so, they will perform a good public service. Circumstances have greatly changed since the measure was agreed to by the Cabinet, and although it would undoubtedly have been difficult for the Government to have given up the Bill, yet, if Parliament were to reject it, the Government might well submit to so welcome a defeat." This letter may fairly be described as un-English, since it violates the best and most characteristic traditions of public life as understood in England. For the proposed repeal of the duty on paper Lord Palmerston was as fully responsible as Mr. Gladstone himself. Every Budget is discussed in Cabinet before being presented to Parliament, and every member of the Government must support it when so presented, or resign. If Lord Palmerston thought that a change of circumstances had made it desirable to withdraw the Bill, he could have summoned his colleagues, and laid that proposition before them. He did not choose to take such a course, and therefore the Chancellor of the Exchequer was entitled to his cordial assistance. What he declared himself bound in duty to say, he was bound in honour not to say, and it is strange indeed that an English gentleman like Lord Palmerston should have brought himself to say it. No Cabinet could hold together if the Premier were in the habit of writing such letters to the Sovereign about measures which had received the joint and several sanction of his colleagues and himself.

May 21, the Lords and the paper duty. The House of Lords rejected the Bill by a majority of 89, at the instigation of Lord Monteagle,[1] who had been a Whig Chancellor of the Exchequer, and a remarkably bad one. Lord Lyndhurst, with a public spirit much admired by

[1] Formerly Mr. Spring Rice.

his friends, left a party assembled in honour of his eighty-eighth birthday to argue that the Peers could throw out, though they could not amend, a Money Bill. Lord Cranworth replied with truth and point that they had not since the Revolution thrown out a Bill which repealed a tax. Lord Overstone, the great financial authority in the Lords, shook his head solemnly over the rashness of the Budget. Lord Derby, who hated newspapers, and despised political economy, called Mr. Gladstone a "desperate and improvident gambler." The victory of the Lords was the briefest and the dearest they ever won. The manufacturers of paper did not retain the advantages of Protection, for the customs duty was at once brought down to the level of the excise in accordance with the Commercial Treaty. The vote of the Lords excited no great popular outcry, and Mr. Gladstone was almost alone in perceiving the gravity of the constitutional crisis. The talk about Money Bills was misleading. A Money Bill, so called because it originates in a Committee of Ways and Means, may be a very trifling affair. The exclusive right of the people's representatives to tax the people, which was the real issue raised, is as important as any political privilege can be. The mutual relations of the two Houses can never be brought before any court of law. They are, and can only be, regulated by mutual consent. In this case there was an entire absence of material for the settlement of the dispute. The Bill was dead, and there could not be a Conference on a dead Bill. The first proceeding taken by the Commons was grotesque enough. On the motion of Lord Palmerston, a Committee was appointed to find out what had become of the Paper Duty Repeal Bill. The Committee searched the Journals of the Lords, and discovered that *die lunae*, or, as the

1860.

The right of taxation.

May 25, the Select Committee.

1860. base vulgar say, on Monday, the second reading of the said Bill had been put off for six months. Thereupon another Committee was nominated, this time to look for precedents, and to define the respective powers of the two Houses in matters of finance. This Committee, of which Mr. Walpole was Chairman, failed to detect a single precedent for a tax retained by the sole will of the Peers. But they drew up three Resolutions, which Lord Palmerston moved and the House of Commons unanimously adopted. The first, which was nearly two hundred years old, affirmed that "the right of granting aids and supplies to the Crown is in the Commons alone, as an essential part of their constitution, and the limitation of all such grants as to matter, manner, measure, and time, is only in them." The second evaded the point by alleging that the Lords had previously "exercised the power of rejecting Bills relating to taxation by negativing the whole." A Bill relating to taxation is not necessarily a Tax Bill, still less a Bill to repeal a tax, which was the case required. The third Resolution, which was by far the most important, was neither debated, nor, except by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, understood. It set forth that "to guard for the future against an undue exercise of that power by the Lords, and to secure to the Commons their rightful control over taxation and supply, this House has in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes, and to frame Bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time, may be maintained inviolate." Lord Palmerston's speech in moving his Resolutions was a veiled apology for the Lords, and a virtual abandonment of his own colleague. The Opposition loudly applauded it, and left the debate to be carried on by Liberals. Mr. Gladstone, however, was not to be put aside.

July 5, Palmerston's Resolutions.

Palmerston and Gladstone.

In a speech described at the time as "magnificently mad," but in which it is difficult to discover any trace of insanity, he showed the largeness of the claim made by the Lords, and contrasted it with the smallness of the sum they had forced him to retain. For a year it would have been fourteen hundred thousand pounds. But as the amount would only be collected from the 15th of August, it would be seven hundred thousand, for which it was scarcely worth while to provoke a conflict with the House of Commons, meaning the Chancellor of the Exchequer, that could only end in one way. 1860.

Mad, or magnificent, or merely constitutional, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's speech was a reply and a challenge to the Prime Minister, who might have called upon him to resign. But though there were still more important differences between them than this, neither was prepared to quarrel finally with the other. Palmerston knew that Gladstone was the strongest man in his Government, and the finest speaker in the House of Commons. Gladstone regarded the finances of the country with the jealous affection of a lover for his mistress. Lord Derby intimated to Lord Palmerston through Lord Malmesbury that if Gladstone, Lord John, and Milner Gibson resigned, the Opposition would support the Government against the Radicals.[1] But there was no compact, and no resignation.

The most critical dispute between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer arose out of the alleged necessity for fortifying naval docks and arsenals. The original proposal came from Sidney Herbert, the Secretary for War, and was vigorously supported by Palmerston in a letter to Gladstone, dated the 15th of Decem- The vote for fortifications.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. p. 228.

1860. ber 1859.[1] Ten millions to be raised by loan for the fortifications of Portsmouth, Plymouth, Chatham, and Cork was the essence of Palmerston's policy. Mr. Gladstone demurred both to the expenditure and to the method of raising it. He also believed that the announcement of such a vote would endanger the Treaty of Commerce. But Palmerston had with him the majority of the Cabinet, and the Report of a Royal Commission. The Chancellor of the Exchequer reluctantly gave way, though not without a protest, which his chief thus described in another letter to the Queen: "Viscount Palmerston hopes to be able to overcome his objections, but, if that should be impossible, however great the loss to the Government by the retirement of Mr. Gladstone, it would be better to lose Mr. Gladstone than to run the risk of losing Portsmouth or Plymouth." Though it would be a compliment to call the taste of this language doubtful, it is not open to the same charge of personal and political treachery as the letter on the Paper Bill. Mr. Gladstone by remaining in office must be held to have withdrawn his objections, even though he threatened to renew them the following year, and Lord Palmerston was entitled to disregard them when the Cabinet had decided the point. The question of national defence, though sometimes treated as one of principle, is really one of degree. Mr. Gladstone did not deny the need for a strong Navy. Lord Palmerston did not propose to double the Army Estimates. Public opinion was undoubtedly with the Prime Minister, and the opposition to the vote in the House of Commons, though led by Bright, with the private approval of Disraeli, was
July 23. numerically insignificant. Lord Palmerston himself introduced the Bill, which provided for an

[1] *Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 105.

outlay of nine millions, two millions to be spent within the year. The money was to be raised by terminable annuities, and spread over thirty years. Whatever might be said for the actual proposals, nothing could excuse the tone of Palmerston's speech, which was highly provocative, and entirely directed against France. From the blind confidence in the Emperor Napoleon, which he exhibited in 1851, and again in 1853–54, Lord Palmerston had now swung round to the opposite extreme of intense suspicion and distrust. Writing to the Duke of Somerset, his First Lord of the Admiralty, he said, "I have watched the French Emperor narrowly, and I have studied his character and conduct. You may rely upon it that at the bottom of his heart there rankles a deep and inextinguishable desire to humble and punish England, and to avenge, if he can, the many humiliations, political, naval, and military, which, since the beginning of this century, England has, by herself and by her allies, inflicted upon France."[1] The idea that the Treaty of Commerce made war impossible was no doubt romantic, and to place a blind trust in Louis Napoleon would have been at any time unwise. But there is no evidence, except Lord Palmerston's own, that the Emperor cherished the design of invading England. If anything could have made him undertake that perilous enterprise, it would have been Palmerston's speech on the Fortification Bill, which was a practical hint that he had better do it at once if he were going to do it at all. A more prudent Minister would have abstained from mentioning any particular Power, and would have dwelt upon the general principles of insular defence. Palmerston devoted himself almost entirely to a criticism of the naval policy pursued by France. Why had the French navy been increased? There

1860.

Palmerston's speech against France

[1] *Ashley's Life of Lord Palmerston*, vol. ii. p. 190.

1860. was only one conceivable motive, and that was hostility to England. What business had France with four hundred thousand men under arms? She could not want them for defensive purposes. Such speeches, while they do little to restore confidence, do much to promote war. To this particular speech the Emperor of the French, in a letter to Count Persigny, at once replied. Writing with the appearance, and, for all that transpired, with the reality of candour, he said that "since the Peace of Villafranca, he had but one thought, one object, to inaugurate a new era of peace, and to live on the best terms with all his neighbours, and especially with England." But Lord Palmerston was determined to have the last word, and just before the close of the session he made in the House of Commons a bitter attack upon the annexation of Savoy, denying, whatever might be the force of the denial, that the Treaty of Turin was "part of the public law of Europe." As the prelude of a demand that Savoy should be restored to Sardinia, who did not ask for it, this diatribe would at least have been intelligible. But since every foreign nation knew that it was mere words, it did not add to the dignity of Great Britain, or her influence in the counsels of Europe.

The French Emperor's reply, July 25.

Aug. 24, Palmerston's retort.

To one modest and incessant worker for the benefit of his country these reckless speeches of Palmerston's were a serious hindrance and annoyance. From April to November 1860 Richard Cobden was occupied at Paris in settling the details of the new tariff. The British Government conceived that after Cobden had had the honour of corresponding with the Foreign Office it would be beneath him to correspond with the Board of Trade. Cobden, who had too much dignity of character to care for dignity of any other kind, at once offered to do the work for the

Cobden's work on the tariff.

department over which he might have presided. 1860.
It was a most difficult and laborious task, the object being to reduce the French customs as far as possible below the highest point permitted by the Treaty, which was 30 per cent. The French manufacturers fought hard for high duties, and Cobden was not well supported either by the Foreign Office or by the Board of Trade. The Foreign Office procrastinated, and disliked the whole business. The President of the Board of Trade, a Cobdenite, was yachting, and could not be found. M. Rouher, Cobden's best and staunchest ally, ventured the opinion that Mr. Milner Gibson might have left an address. Mr. Gibson's only address was the ocean, which, however English, was unpractical. Cobden himself went patiently on, and finally effected an average reduction of about 15 per cent.[1] Meanwhile he implored Lord Palmerston not to use menacing language, with what result we have seen. A similar remonstrance addressed to Lord John Russell produced the rather rude answer that England ought not to be unarmed, and that Lord John was not disposed to place his country at the mercy of France. "So far am I," replied Cobden, with imperturbable temper, "from wishing that we should be unarmed, and so little am I disposed to place my country at the mercy of France, that I would, if necessary, spend one hundred millions sterling to maintain an irresistible superiority over France at sea."[2] What Cobden denied was not the need for adequate defence, but the truth of the rumours about a sudden increase of French armaments with which Lord Palmerston frightened his hearers, and perhaps himself. Happily the Emperor was resolved not to be offended, and before Christmas, after an interview with Cobden,

His belief in a strong navy.

[1] It ranged from 10 per cent on iron to 20 per cent on cotton.
[2] Morley's *Life of Cobden*, vol. ii. p. 313.

1860. in which Bright took part, he agreed to the abolition of passports for British subjects in France. Very few Ministers have toiled harder for the public service than Cobden toiled in the summer and autumn of 1860. Yet he protested against the idea of any recognition by the House of Commons beyond the payment of his expenses, and he refused Lord Palmerston's alternative offer of a Privy Councillorship or a Baronetcy. The notion of Cobden as a Baronet is ludicrous. But to be a Privy Councillor was then a distinction, and no man deserved better than Cobden the confidence of the Crown. He had, however, a constitutional distaste for any kind of show, and refused to dine officially with the Chancellor of the Exchequer because he would not appear singular, or wear court dress. He did not decline a substantial testimonial, the second, from personal and political friends, whose names he never knew, to make up for the result of having, like Pitt, neglected his private affairs.

His refusal of honours.

Public testimonial to him.

The regeneration of Italy. There was one cause, the cause of Italy, for which Palmerston and Gladstone could work together both in the Cabinet and in the House of Commons. From the year 1860 dates the new birth of the Italian nation. A few days after the Sardinian Parliament had ratified the cession of Nice and Savoy, the people of Palermo rose against the King of Naples. Messina, Catania, and Agrigentum followed the example of the capital, until the whole of Sicily was seething with rebellion. Lord John Russell, through his brother-in-law, Mr. Elliot, the British Minister at Naples, had given some very wholesome advice to the young King, Francis the Second. He urged him to abolish the despotism of the police, and "to adopt a Liberal system of internal policy as the only chance of averting a political convulsion,

Insurrection in Sicily, April 4.

Lord John's advice to King Francis, July 7.

and of maintaining himself and his dynasty on the throne." But the King, like a true Bourbon, and own son to Bomba, would take advice from no one. Nothing short of a revolution could rouse him to a sense of his own duties, or of his people's rights. The watchful eye of General Garibaldi saw that Sicily was prepared to rise against the tyrant, and would be the better for a little timely aid. An Italian patriot, constitutionally fearless, and loving adventures for their own sake, he collected a body of irregular troops at Genoa without the sanction but with the connivance of Cavour and Victor Emmanuel. Between Cavour and Garibaldi there was not much love lost. The simple mind of the gallant and unselfish soldier could not appreciate nor understand the subtle and sagacious schemes by which the first statesman of the age was effecting the deliverance of their common country. He could not in particular forgive Cavour for having, even as the price of a united Italy, ceded to France his native town. Cavour, on the other hand, though he respected and admired Garibaldi's heroism, was in constant dread of his impulsive recklessness. On this occasion, however, he sympathised with the General's object, and the famous expedition of the Thousand was protected by the Piedmontese fleet under Admiral Persano in its voyage from Genoa to Marsala. The actual number of these volunteers was considerably more than a thousand, and they obtained many recruits in Sicily. Among the original band was a young Sicilian, Francesco Crispi, destined to play long afterwards a prominent and a sinister part in the drama of Italian politics. By the end of May Garibaldi was in possession of Palermo, and had declared himself Dictator of the island. The Neapolitan troops had been defeated at Calatafimi, and the young King was

1860.

Garibaldi's Sicilian expedition.

Protected by the Piedmontese fleet, May 5–10.

Dictatorship of Garibaldi.

1860. so frightened that he telegraphed five times in twenty-four hours for the blessing of the Pope.[1] Lord Palmerston took the opportunity of a question in the House of Commons about the bombardment of Palermo by the Neapolitan fleet to express his indignation at the cruelties committed by the Neapolitan Admiral, and his opinion that the King with his Ministers was really responsible for the rebellion. Under the influence
June 28. of fear the King at length formed a Liberal Government, and granted a Constitution. But it was too late. Garibaldi, finding that there was no more to be done in Sicily, prepared to cross the Straits and invade the Neapolitan kingdom. M. Thouvenel proposed to Lord John Russell that France and England should stop him. But Lord John, in the name of the Cabinet, replied, with
The British Cabinet's refusal to intervene, July 26. excellent sense, that, "if the navy, army, and people were attached to the King, Garibaldi would be defeated; if, on the contrary, they were disposed to welcome Garibaldi, our interference would be an intervention in the affairs of the Neapolitan kingdom." Lord John was not at that time, nor indeed was Lord Palmerston, up to the standard of Cavour. He was for Italian unity pure and simple. They believed in the feasibility of a Constitutional Government for Southern Italy alone. But, on the other hand, they were honourably and rightly determined neither to interfere nor to allow interference with the wishes of the Italian people. Garibaldi accordingly landed without molestation at Spartivento, and the Neapolitan troops deserted to him in large numbers. A more conclusive justification of the British Cabinet could not have been given. It would have been a sorry task for a free country to protect a king, and such a king

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 323.

against his own subjects and soldiers. King Francis did not wait to receive Garibaldi. He took ship from Naples and sailed to Gaeta, where the Pope had sought refuge in 1848. Forty-eight hours afterwards Garibaldi arrived in Naples by railway, and the Two Sicilies were free.

1860. Sept. 6. The freedom of the Two Sicilies.

Meanwhile Lord John Russell had addressed to Sir James Hudson at Turin a despatch which was naturally criticised because it could not in the circumstances be understood. He represented to Count Cavour that an attack on Venetia would be a breach of the Treaty of Zurich, and that England had interests in the Adriatic which she would be compelled to uphold. The Treaty of Zurich was waste paper, and an Italian Venetia would not have been more dangerous to British interests than an Italian Lombardy. But the despatch was by no means unwelcome to Cavour, who was seriously alarmed by the rapid progress and obstinate insubordination of Garibaldi. Personal influence over Garibaldi he had none, and the Dictator, with many expressions of loyal attachment, refused point blank to comply with King Victor Emmanuel's request that he should not cross from Sicily to the mainland until the Sicilians had voted for incorporation with a united Italy. What would he do next? He might attack Venetia and come into collision with Austria or Rome, and find himself confronted with the French army of occupation under General de Goyon. Lord John Russell's despatch was published, doubtless through Cavour's agency, in the *Cologne Gazette*, and no more was heard of designs against Venetia. For the avoidance of trouble at Rome Cavour acted with characteristic courage and promptitude. He picked a quarrel with Cardinal Antonelli, and invaded the Papal States himself. In an audacious despatch to the Papal Secretary Cavour declared

Aug. 31. Lord John and Cavour.

1860. Cavour's invasion of the Papal States.

that foreign mercenaries, meaning the Pope's force under General Lamoricière, could not be permitted to suppress an Italian movement, meaning rebellion in Umbria and the Marches of Ancona. He therefore called for the disbandment of the Papal troops, and upon Antonelli's indignant refusal, the Piedmontese army under General Fanti and General Cialdini entered the Pontifical dominions a few hours after Victor Emmanuel had been proclaimed King of Italy at Naples. General Lamoricière's little force, chiefly Frenchmen, fought bravely. But they could do nothing against fifty thousand Italians. Pesaro, Fano, Urbino, Perugia, and Spoleto fell in rapid succession. By the end of September Ancona, the last refuge of the Papalists, had fallen, and the liberation of the Papal States was complete. In order to mark their disapproval of Cavour's policy, which had achieved so triumphant a success, France and Russia withdrew their Ministers from Turin, while Prussia, without going that length, addressed a formal remonstrance to Victor Emmanuel. Lord John Russell, with the instinct of a statesman, saw his opportunity, and threw the weight of England decisively into the Italian scale. Writing again to Sir James Hudson the day after Garibaldi had saluted Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, Lord John observed that Her Majesty's Government could not pretend to blame the King. There appeared, he said, to have been two motives for the popular insurrections in the Roman and Neapolitan States. One was the failure of the Neapolitan and Papal Governments to provide for the administration of justice, the protection of liberty, and the general welfare of the people. The other was the belief that only by Italian unity could Italy be delivered from foreign control. Both reasons were legitimate,

Sept. 10–11.

Oct. 27. Lord John's despatch to Hudson.

and of both the best judges were the Italians themselves. Some reference to the Revolution of 1688 must always be expected from Lord John upon a great occasion, and in this document it is not lacking. But it was a real stroke of political genius to cite on behalf of King Victor Emmanuel the authority of that stiff and starch publicist Vattel. "When a people," said the learned Dutchman, "from good reasons take up arms against an oppressor, it is but an act of justice and generosity to assist brave men in the defence of their liberties." Proceeding to apply this sound and wholesome doctrine, Lord John wrote, "Therefore, according to Vattel, the question resolves itself into this: Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their Government for good reasons? Upon this grave matter Her Majesty's Government hold that the people in question are themselves the best judges of their own affairs." Therefore, according to the combined principles of Vattel and Her Majesty's Government, the simple question was, "Did the people of Naples and of the Roman States take up arms against their Governments?" which nobody could answer in the negative. Lord John's concluding sentences were these: "Such having been the causes and concomitant circumstances of the Revolution of Italy, Her Majesty's Government can see no sufficient grounds for the severe censure with which Austria, France, Prussia, and Russia have visited the acts of the King of Sardinia. Her Majesty's Government turn their eyes rather to the gratifying prospect of a people building up the edifice of their liberties, and consolidating the work of their independence, amid the sympathies and good wishes of Europe." This celebrated despatch was received with angry astonishment by the less constitutional Powers of

1860.

1860. Europe, with suspicious dislike by the English Court, and with enthusiastic approval by the people of England. Its effect in Italy is described by Lord John's nephew, Mr. Odo Russell,[1] not a gushing sentimentalist, but a hard-headed diplomatist, and a rather cynical man of the world.

Its effect in Italy.

Dec. 1. "My dear Uncle," he wrote from Rome, "ever since your famous despatch to Sir James of the 27th, you are blessed night and morning by twenty millions of Italians. I could not read it myself without deep emotion, and the moment it was published in Italian, thousands of people copied it from each other to carry it to their homes, and weep over it for joy and gratitude in the bosom of their families, away from brutal mercenaries and greasy priests." It illustrates Lord Derby's curious blindness to the true meaning of contemporary events abroad, as well as his deficiency in the good taste and good breeding which might have been expected from a great English nobleman, that he should have said

1861. Feb. 5. in the House of Lords, "No doubt all the people in Italy may be called Italians:

> As hounds and greyhounds, mongrels, spaniels, curs,
> Shoughs, water-rugs, and demi-wolves are classed
> All by the name of dogs."

If that had been so, if Italy had really been what Metternich insolently called her, a geographical expression, Cavour would have failed, and Victor Emmanuel would have died King of Sardinia. There are differences between northern and southern Italians, which it has taxed the wit of statesmen to reconcile. But many as are the difficulties with which Italy has had to contend since 1860, nothing has occurred to weaken her Parliamentary union, to diminish her political independence, or to impair the affection with which

[1] The first Lord Ampthill.

she cherishes the names of Victor Emmanuel, of Garibaldi, and of Cavour. 1860.

Within a few days of Lord John Russell's despatch the fall of Capua put an end to the last resistance of the Neapolitan troops. King Francis was protected for some months at Gaeta by the French fleet, and finally conveyed in a French ship to Rome. His former subjects voted for incorporation with Italy by a majority of a hundred thousand to one, and upon hearing the result Victor Emmanuel entered Naples in state. Two days afterwards Garibaldi departed to his island home at Caprera, and his army was broken up. The difficult task of governing the new provinces of Naples and Sicily, where brigandage and homicide were rife, was entrusted to Signor Farini, who enjoyed the confidence of Cavour. Nov. 8. Victor Emmanuel in Naples. Retirement of Garibaldi.

The part which England played in the liberation of Italy was as wise and prudent in policy as it was just and generous in design. The truth of the matter was precisely the opposite of what Lord Derby stated in the House of Lords. Italy was in every sense a nation, and a nation full of promise for the future. Austria, though she still clung to Venetia, was a declining Power, and the secular authority of the Pope, now restricted to the neighbourhood of Rome, was a hopeless anachronism. Italy was full of resource, intellectual and material, which made her friendship as valuable from one point of view as it was honourable from another. Her King, and his great Minister, were allies better worth having than Francis Joseph or Louis Napoleon. Without the sacrifice of a British ship, or a British soldier, by the prompt and timely exercise of a moral influence greater than fleets or armies, Lord Palmerston, Lord John Russell, and Mr. Gladstone preserved Cavour and Garibaldi from the resentment of absolutist Europe. For England and Italy.

1860. such an object it would have been worth while for Gladstone to remain in office, even if he had had no financial reforms to propose. Non-intervention, said Talleyrand, is a diplomatic term, which means much the same thing as intervention. England was determined that there should be no interference from outside which would hinder the Italians in developing their own future for themselves. The French Emperor, despite Magenta and Solferino, forfeited the gratitude of Italy by annexing Nice and Savoy. There was no such drawback to the sincere and unselfish support which the maker of modern Italy received from the rulers of modern England. Without that support the movement would have either failed, or placed Italy in subordination to France. What Louis Napoleon lost by his shiftiness and subterfuges, Lord Palmerston and Lord John gained by their straightforward consistency. They raised the reputation of their country as much as they contributed to the welfare and the progress of the world.

The second Chinese expedition. If the Lords supposed that by retaining the duty on paper they had paid for the expedition to China, they soon discovered their mistake. For that purpose a Supplementary Budget was introduced, which raised a million by increasing the tax on spirits, and made up the required amount (£2,300,000) by appropriating the balance in the Exchequer. The Chinese expedition was undertaken because the Government of China had contemptuously rejected Mr. Bruce's ultimatum after his repulse from the Taku forts. Mr. Bruce was instructed to demand an apology, the ratification of the Treaty concluded at Tient-sin, the acceptance of a resident Minister at Pekin, and an indemnity. The last demand was inserted at the request of the French Government. But as

July 16.

all the proposals were rejected with equal and impartial contempt, it cannot be regarded as unfavourably affecting the negotiations. It was decided between Paris and London that the ultimatum should be enforced by a joint expedition under the auspices of Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, who had procured the Treaty of 1858. After his return from China in 1859 Lord Elgin had been courted by both parties, and Lord Grey had disputed with Lord Derby in the House of Lords for the honour of having introduced him into public life. Being in politics a decided though a moderate Liberal, he entered Lord Palmerston's Cabinet as Postmaster-General.[1] At considerable sacrifice to himself he accepted a mission which would almost certainly be tedious, and, if a necessity, was a most disagreeable one. The military chiefs were Sir Hope Grant, who had won high distinction in the Mutiny, and General Montauban. The *Malabar*, on which the Plenipotentiaries sailed, was wrecked off Point de Galle in Ceylon, and it was midsummer when they reached Hong Kong. The British and French forces were to meet at the mouth of the Pei-ho in the last week of July. Lord Elgin was struck by the lavish scale of the British preparations, and wondered what the House of Commons would say when they saw the Bill. "The expense," he wrote in his journal, "is enormous, in my opinion utterly disproportionate to the objects to be effected." As a matter of fact the estimate formed by the Chancellor of the Exchequer was not exceeded, nor even reached, for no serious resistance was offered by the Chinese army to the forces of the Allies. An engagement at Tongku resulted in the capture of forty-five

1860.

Aug. 18.

[1] The Postmaster-General was then always a Peer, being ineligible for the House of Commons as the holder of an office created since the statute of Anne.

1860. Chinese guns, and the defeat of the Chinese, with very small loss on the European side. The country was disturbed by the Taiping rebellion, and it is a comical incident of the campaign that Shanghai was defended by a British force under Sir Robert Napier against rebels in arms, this service to the Emperor being rendered by an expedition which had been sent to punish him. The only severe fighting in this war was that which immediately
Aug. 21. preceded the capture of the Taku forts at the mouth of the Pei-ho. These forts, two on each side of the river, were constructed on western principles, and amply provided with guns. If the gunners had understood their business, the issue would have been doubtful. As it was, the first fort attacked made a stubborn resistance, and the Allies lost, in killed and wounded, about four hundred men. Happily the other three forts made no resistance at all, and by this single action the passage of the Pei-ho up to Tient-sin was cleared.[1] In three days Admiral Hope, followed by his French colleague, Admiral Charner, arrived at Tient-sin, which was connected by a canal with the seat of Government. There the Plenipotentiaries, who came immediately afterwards, were informed that an imperial decree had deprived Sang-ko-lin-Sin, the Chinese Commander-in-Chief, of all his honours and distinctions. The Emperor's Minister, Kwei-liang, was sent to meet the Allies at Tient-sin, and to sue for peace. He agreed that Lord Elgin and Baron Gros, each with an escort of a thousand men, should be received at Pekin, when the Treaty of 1858 would forthwith be ratified. "I think it better," wrote Lord Elgin to his wife, "that the olive branch should advance with the sword." Never was there a more pacific negotiator than Lord Elgin, unless it were Baron

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. pp. 255–257.

Gros. But the treachery of the Chinese Government compelled both of them to depart from their conciliatory attitude. It soon became evident that the fulsome Kwei-liang was not provided with the necessary powers, and had no authority to conclude peace. The Allies determined to leave half their force at Tient-sin, and to advance with the remainder upon the capital, halting at Tung-chao, where they would treat with a properly accredited envoy. Unluckily they were persuaded, in spite of General Montauban's just suspicions, to stop short of Tung-chao, and to be represented there by delegates who would arrange the preliminaries of peace. The British representatives were Consul Parkes, who acted as interpreter, Lord Elgin's private secretary, Mr. Loch, and Mr. de Norman. Besides their three French colleagues, they were accompanied by Colonel Walker, Lieutenant Anderson, and Mr. Bowlby, the correspondent of the *Times*. At Tung-chao they found Prince Tsai, a member of the imperial family, who agreed to all their terms. But on their return next day they were surrounded by Tartar horsemen, and made prisoners. Thirteen of them, including Anderson, De Norman, and Bowlby, were murdered. Parkes and Loch were treated with insolence and cruelty, but their lives were spared. On hearing of these treacherous arrests, the Allies at once broke off negotiations, dispersed the Tartar troops with Armstrong guns, used in this expedition for the first time, and marched on Pekin. The Emperor's Summer Palace was looted by the French soldiers, and two days after the release of the surviving prisoners, Pekin was occupied by the forces of the Allies. For the first time in history the British and French flags were hoisted at Pekin. "War," wrote Lord Elgin, after a visit to the Emperor's plundered rooms, "is a hateful business.

1860.

The treachery of the Chinese Government.

The murder of the envoys.

Occupation of Pekin.

Oct. 12.

1860. The more one sees it, the more one detests it." Yet he himself took a step which was censured at home, notably by Lord Derby in the House of Lords, as unduly severe. By way of reprisal for the treacherous murder of British subjects, he ordered that the Summer Palace should be burnt to the ground. This has been called an act of vandalism. Vandalism commonly means the destruction of artistic treasures by persons ignorant of their value. Lord Elgin was highly cultivated, and everything really valuable had already been removed from the collection of kiosques which formed the favourite residence of the Emperor. It was absolutely essential that some punishment should be inflicted for murders which were accompanied by cruelty and outrage.[1] The man chiefly responsible under the Emperor was San-ko-lin-Sin. He would certainly not have been given up, and a demand for his head would have meant a renewal of the war. Any number of lives could have been had for the asking, but they would not have been the lives of the culprits. Lord Elgin's peremptory action avoided bloodshed, and struck a blow in the most guilty because the highest quarter. Baron Gros remonstrated against the form of vengeance adopted, not because he thought it wanton or unjust, but because he feared that it would postpone the signature of the Treaty. It had precisely the opposite effect. The Treaty was signed at Pekin within a week, and the war was over. The indemnity demanded in 1858 was doubled, and Tient-sin, with six additional ports, was opened to foreign trade. British and French residents were put under the protection of their own consuls. Christian missionaries and Christian

Destruction of the Summer Palace.

The Treaty of Pekin, Oct. 24.

[1] An examination of the bodies proved that the victims had been tortured before they were killed. — *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. p. 286.

converts were promised entire liberty for the peaceful exercise of their religious functions. This promise was most imperfectly fulfilled, and a missionary to China still takes his life in his hands. It would probably have been better for the Celestial Empire if the western barbarian had never set foot on Chinese soil, and if China had been left to the tranquil enjoyment of her own ancient, unprogressive civilisation. But whatever else may be said of the Chinese wars and their questionable origin, it cannot be denied that they have brought great material advantages to this country. The foreign trade of China, which has made such gigantic strides since 1860, has been to a very large extent appropriated by Great Britain and her Colonial possessions. 1860.

The active alliance of Great Britain and France in China did nothing to abate the intense and morbid suspicion with which Lord Palmerston regarded the foreign policy of the French Emperor. He could not get over the annexation of Nice and Savoy. "The Emperor's mind," he wrote to Lord Cowley, upon whom the same event had made much the same impression, "seems as full of schemes as a warren is full of rabbits, and, like rabbits, his schemes go to ground for the moment to avoid notice or antagonism." As a general proposition, this was true enough, and Lord Palmerston would have done well to reflect upon it in 1853. But at the time when his letter was written the cause of France coincided with the cause of Europe, and of civilisation. At the Congress of Paris in 1856, after the Crimean War, the Porte had given the most solemn assurances and the most formal guarantees for the freedom and security of the Sultan's Christian subjects. Lord Aberdeen, who understood Turkey better than did any other British statesman, French policy in the East.

1860. except Lord Stratford de Redcliffe, remarked at the time in the House of Lords, that without continual watching these promises would not be worth the paper on which they were written. This was an under statement. They were worse than useless. For they irritated the Mohammedan population, and inflamed them against the Christians. In no part of the Ottoman Empire was this effect more palpable than in the province of Syria, where

The Druses and the Maronites. the Christian tribe of Maronites, and the half Pagan, half Mohammedan tribe of Druses, severally occupied the slopes of Mount Lebanon. The mutual hostility of these neighbours and rivals was encouraged by the Turkish authorities in order to find an excuse for destroying the partial independence which the Lebanon possessed.[1] At the end of May 1860 there was a massacre of Maronites by Druses. The Turkish Pasha, one Kourchid, did nothing to protect the Christians, and about

June 21. three weeks afterwards a far more terrible crime was committed at Deir-el-Khamer. On this occasion the slaughter of Maronites to the number of twelve hundred was deliberately aided by Turkish troops. Old men and little children were put to death in cold blood by the ruthless savages whose "integrity and independence" had been placed under a European guarantee. No attempt was made to check these outrages, which were

July 9–10, massacre of Christians. renewed on a still larger scale at Damascus. It is estimated that fifteen hundred inhabitants of the Christian quarter there were killed, and Achmet Pasha's soldiers joined in the work of homicide. The amount of the slain would have been even larger but for the honourable and courageous humanity of Abd-el-Kader, the Algerian chief, imprisoned by Louis Philippe, and released by Louis Napoleon. Abd-el-Kader received into his

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. p. 302.

own house, and placed under his powerful protection, the members of the European Consulates, and other Christian refugees. The Maronites belonged to the Roman Catholic Church, many of them spoke French, and France considered herself bound to protect them. But when M. Thouvenel proposed to Lord Cowley that an expedition should be sent to Syria for the purpose of restoring order, the British Ambassador objected that this would be inconsistent with the sovereignty of the Sultan. Thus that old diplomatic fiction, the independence of the Ottoman Empire, reappeared. Nor could it in 1860 be denied that Turkey was under the collective patronage of the great Powers. But the facts were too glaring, and too scandalous, to be explained away. At a European Conference held in Paris it was agreed that France should despatch to the Lebanon a force of six thousand men, though the period of occupation was limited at the instance of Lord Cowley to six months. This little army, commanded by General Beaufort d'Hautpool, was charged by the Emperor, in language which may be fairly called diplomatic, and was certainly "correct," to assist the Sultan in bringing back his misguided subjects to their allegiance. The Sultan was now thoroughly frightened, and had begun to act for himself. He sent Fuad Pasha, his Foreign Minister, to Damascus, and Fuad acted with impartial, not to say indiscriminate, rigour. More than fifty culprits were hanged, and more than a hundred were shot, including Achmet Pasha. At Beyrout Fuad found the French under General Beaufort, and together they concerted measures for preventing similar horrors in the future. These were at once submitted to a European Commission, on which sat a brilliant young Irishman, Lord Dufferin, then at the beginning of his long and distinguished career,

1860.

Conference at Paris, Aug. 5–Sept. 10.

The French expedition to Syria.

Aug. 5. Sept. 11.

1860. illustrated by the public spirit, as well as by the wit and the eloquence, of his famous ancestor, Richard Brinsley Sheridan. The Commission sat throughout the autumn, and was still sitting in January 1861, when Lord John Russell demanded in rather offensive terms the recall of the French troops. The British Government did not, he said, desire to set up another Papal State, and to give France a pretext for indefinite occupation. M. Thouvenel's reply was to summon another Conference, which prolonged the period of occupation till the 5th of June. The Commission at Beyrout decided that the Governor of Lebanon, though appointed by the Sultan, must be a Christian, and the first Governor, Daoud Pacha, was an Armenian Catholic.[1] This proved a sufficient precaution, though the French Commissioner vainly attempted to insist upon the nomination of a Maronite. Thus ended the Syrian episode in the relations of England and France. Lord Palmerston and Lord John Russell regarded it as a great diplomatic achievement to get the French out of Syria. They even took the side of the Druses, because France took the side of the Maronites. The Maronites were not a gentle race, and their demands for the heads of their enemies were not conceived in a Christian spirit. But they were the injured party, and the French case for interference was strong. The activity of Fuad Pasha enabled Lord John to argue that peace had been established before the French arrived, and the French Emperor had an obvious, though not a discreditable motive, in his wish to pacify the Church, which regarded his Italian policy with abhorrence. The fundamental error of Lord Palmerston and the Cabinet was the old, fatal, almost ineradicable assumption that in the Sultan's right to misgovern his subjects British

Feb. 19.

The reform of the Lebanon.

[1] De la Gorce, *Histoire du Second Empire*, vol. iii. p. 349.

interests were involved. As for the independence of the Sultan, what sort of independent Sovereign is he who cannot within his own dominions appoint a Governor of his own creed? The real independence of the Sultan, as distinguished from the diplomatic fiction which passed under that name, would not have been tolerated for a moment by any Christian Power. 1860.

The important legislation of 1860 was almost exclusively financial. But the Indian Army Bill, introduced by Sir Charles Wood, deserves notice as the last of the reforms which arose directly out of the Mutiny. This Bill, by which the Queen and the Prince Consort set much store, abolished the local European levies in India, the remnant of the Company's troops, as a separate force, and put the whole European army in India, like the army at home, and in all other British possessions, under the direct control of the Crown. Neither the native troops, nor the independence of the military commands in Bengal, Madras, and Bombay, were affected by the measure, which was so obviously reasonable that it became law without serious opposition. The Census Bill, not usually controversial, was opposed this year by the Nonconformists, who successfully objected to the clause for counting religious denominations. Dissenters have often been reproached for this their alleged unwillingness to expose their numerical weakness as compared with the Church of England; and if there were no Established Church, the reproach might be just, though even then it could be argued that the State cannot properly require from any man a statement of his religious opinions. But so long as one ecclesiastical organisation is specially and solely recognised by law, a census would give it the benefit of many secularists, and of thousands for whom theological differences have no interest or meaning.

The Indian Army Bill, June 12.

A religious census: objections of Dissenters.

1860. In the middle of the summer the Prince of Wales, a youth of eighteen, left England for Canada, Newfoundland, and the United States, accompanied by the Duke of Newcastle, Secretary for the Colonies.[1] The visit to Canada was intended partly for the instruction of the Prince himself, and partly as a recognition of Canadian assistance in the Crimean War. In the United States His Royal Highness travelled *incognito* as Lord Renfrew. He was entertained at Washington by President Buchanan, and had the opportunity of observing Republican institutions on the eve of the greatest trial to which since the days of Cæsar they have been exposed. The loyalty of Canadians, French as well as English, was agreeably stimulated by the gracious demeanour of the young Prince, and the Queen's courteous letter of thanks to the President was most heartily received by the American people, standing as they did on the verge of revolution.

July 9, the Prince of Wales in America.

Oct. 8.

Dec. 13, death of Lord Aberdeen. At the close of the year 1860 died Lord Aberdeen, the victim of a policy which he disliked, and of a war which he did his best to prevent. The superlative of the Greek word signifying "just" is inscribed upon his monument in Westminster Abbey. His public life was easy and dignified until he was confronted as Prime Minister with a storm which he was powerless to withstand and too conscientious to evade. His untimely wisdom brought upon him a load of obloquy in the dark and turbid days of 1854. But posterity has reversed the judgment of passion, and the accepted estimate of the Crimean War is the estimate of Lord Aberdeen. In the words of his most illustrious colleague, "all the qualities and parts in which he was great were those that are the very

[1] This was the first occasion upon which a Colonial Secretary visited a British colony during his term of office.

foundation stones of our being; as foundation stones they are deep, and as being deep they are withdrawn from view; but time is their witness and their friend, and in the final distribution of posthumous fame Lord Aberdeen has nothing to forfeit, he has only to receive."[1] 1861.

Both at home and abroad the first half of 1861 completed the financial and political work of 1860. It so happened that Parliament met[2] the day after the opening of the French Chambers, and in the debate on the Address Lord Derby, like a true Protectionist, cited the Emperor's declaration that the Treaty of Commerce had been beneficial to France as a proof that it had been injurious to England. It was of course for the mutual advantage of both countries alike. The Budget of 1861 was the complement and supplement to the Budget of 1860. The financial changes which it introduced were two. The income tax was lowered from tenpence to ninepence, at which it had stood in 1859, and the Chancellor of the Exchequer again proposed to abolish the duty on paper. As regarded the income tax, Mr. Gladstone pointed out that it was all a question of expenditure. If the country would restrict its outlay to sixty millions, the tax might be abolished. With an outlay of seventy millions it must be retained. Dealing once more with the paper duty, he again laid stress upon the multitude of purposes for which paper could be used, and argued that the liberation of industry

Gladstone's third great Budget.

[1] Lord Stanmore's *Life of Lord Aberdeen*, p. 309. Lord Dalhousie, who had long been a mere wreck, died within a week of Lord Aberdeen, aged forty-eight.

[2] The House of Commons had lost during the recess one of its most brilliant ornaments. Although Sidney Herbert, the Secretary for War, was only fifty years of age, his health had begun to fail, and to lighten his labours he was in January 1861 created Lord Herbert of Lea. He moved in the House of Lords a vote of thanks to the officers and men engaged in the Chinese expedition. Lord Herbert was heir-presumptive to his brother, the Earl of Pembroke.

1861. was even more important than the remission of taxes. In the course of this his third great treatise on finance, which some authorities consider the greatest of the three, he inserted an eloquent plea for vigilant economy, which was addressed not to the Opposition, but to the Prime Minister. Lord Palmerston did not like it, but for the moment he held his tongue. The only possible Premier could not afford to quarrel with the best possible Chancellor of the Exchequer. Although he did not propose to repeal it at that time, Mr. Gladstone condemned so early as 1861 the shilling duty on corn left in the guise of a registration fee by the Act of 1846. The amount of foreign corn then imported into the United Kingdom was only one-third of what was raised at home, so that the duty added two shillings to the price of bread for every shilling that it brought into the Exchequer.

The repeal of the paper duty.

The proposed repeal of the paper duty renewed the struggle of the previous year. There seems to be a prevalent delusion, from which Lord Palmerston's biographer is certainly not free, that the resistance to this measure of relief was temporary, and was founded on the peculiar financial circumstances of the year 1860. Nothing could be further from the truth. The Opposition fought it in 1861 not less stubbornly than in 1860. They divided on Mr. Horsfall's amendment to substitute tea for paper, and were only beaten by 18 votes. They divided in favour of the paper duty in Committee, in spite of Cobden's animated protest against forcing taxes upon a Government which did not ask for them, and were only beaten by 15 votes. They would have carried on the struggle in the House of Lords, where they would probably have been successful, but their guns were spiked. Now became apparent what was meant by the

Resolution of 1860, which affirmed that the House of Commons "had in its own hands the power so to impose and remit taxes and to frame bills of supply, that the right of the Commons as to the matter, manner, measure, and time may be maintained inviolate." The reduction of the income tax was included in the same Bill with the repeal of the paper duty, and with the other financial proposals of the year. This bold precedent, which has become an invariable custom, compelled the House of Lords to take or reject the Budget as a whole. They could not, by their own admission, amend a Money Bill. They could only pass it as it stood, or throw it out. Mr. Gladstone's arrangement was denounced even in the House of Commons by Lord Robert Cecil and other extreme Tories. But it was supported by Conservatives of weight and influence, such as Mr. Walpole and Sir William Heathcote; Sir James Graham, old and broken in health, made an earnest plea for the privileges of the Assembly in which he had sat so long; and by a majority very far in excess of what the Government could usually command the Bill was sent to the Lords as Gladstone brought it in. The Lords, however, were not inclined to try the Constitutional issue. Although the Duke of Rutland moved the rejection of the Bill, he was persuaded by Lord Derby [1] to withdraw his amendment, and the Bill passed. This was a signal triumph for the Chancellor of the Exchequer, who had not only carried out his own financial ideas, but also secured all future Budgets from the risk of mutilation by the Lords. How much the repeal of the paper duty has done for the promotion and circulation of cheap literature, from halfpenny

1861. The Customs and Inland Revenue Bill.

The Lords outmanœuvred.

[1] Lord Derby comforted himself by observing that the Budget would be of no use to any one except the editors of penny newspapers and the makers of cheap bandboxes.

1861.

The results of cheap paper.

newspapers to penny Shakespeares, the whole world knows. Almost every reform has its drawbacks. Some cheap newspapers are merely mischievous, and some cheap books are worse than trash. But we do not abandon education because a bad use may be made of it, and only those who, like Sir Anthony Absolute, regard a circulating library as an evergreen tree of diabolical knowledge will regret the Budget of 1861.

The French in Syria.

During the early months of this year Lord Palmerston devoted himself, with an assiduity which would have been more laudable if the object had been more beneficial, to the task of removing the French troops from Syria. The period of occupation had been prolonged by the representatives of the Great Powers from spring to summer. But in June it came to an end, and the French Government crowned its services to Europe in suppressing the disorder which prevailed in the Lebanon by faithfully complying with its pledge to evacuate Syria when its work was done. The appointment of a Christian Governor in the land of the Druses and Maronites was almost immediately followed by the death of Abdul Medjid, the wretched Sultan of the Crimean War, and the succession of his more vigorous if not more virtuous brother, Abdul Aziz. "Abdul Medjid," said Lord Palmerston, with charitable cynicism, "was a good-hearted and weak-minded man, who was running two horses to the goal of perdition — his own life and that of his Empire. Luckily for the Empire, his own life won the race." It made not the smallest difference to the Empire. No brain-sick youth enamoured of an ideal Republic ever wandered further from the paths of truth and possibility than did Palmerston in his septuagenarian dreams of a regenerate Ottoman Empire.

Their withdrawal.

Death of the Sultan.

Aetas parentum pejor avis-tulit 1861.
Hos nequiores, mox daturos
Progeniem vitiosorem.[1]

Far different were the merits and the fate of the Italian policy pursued by the Prime Minister and his two most influential colleagues. With the exception of Venetia, and the immediate neighbourhood of Rome, Italy was now free from the Alps to the Adriatic. On the 19th of January the French squadron was withdrawn from Gaeta, where it had protected King Francis of Naples, and within a month the garrison, including his former Majesty, had capitulated to the Italian Admiral Persano, supported on land by the Italian General Cialdini. Thereupon Lord John Russell informed the Neapolitan Minister, Cavaliere de Fortunatis, that he could no longer be received as a representative of the King. Equally prompt was Lord John's recognition of Victor Emmanuel as King of Italy, in accordance with the first act of the Italian Parliament assembled at Turin. It was some months before the Emperor of the French could make up his mind to take this course, and the cordiality of the British Government, as contrasted with his grudging tardiness, was not less politic than generous. In this respect Lord Palmerston and his colleagues faithfully carried out the will of the nation, and not of a mere Parliamentary majority. Lord Derby's followers did not follow him in his jealous suspicion of Italian liberty and independence. Lord Ellenborough, a Tory of the Tories, declared in one of his most eloquent speeches that the events now passing in Italy realised the dreams of his youth, and the same sudden discovery was made by others who kept

The freedom of Italy.

Feb. 18, British acknowledgment of Victor Emmanuel.

[1] The age of their fathers, worse than the age of their grandfathers, produced them, more depraved than either, and destined to beget a progeny even more vicious than themselves.

1861. their aspirations to themselves in the period from Novara to Solferino. In the House of Commons, where the wrongs of King Francis and Pope Pius were urged by a couple of Irish Catholics, the Opposition prudently abstained from showing themselves the partisans of departed tyranny. They left the subject in the hands of Mr. Gladstone, who turned to excellent account the praise bestowed upon the courage of King Francis. "I think," said the Chancellor of the Exchequer, "I would rather live in a stout and well-built casement, listening to the whizzing of bullets and the bursting of shells, than come before a free assembly (loud and prolonged cheering) to vindicate the cause which the members for Dundalk and King's County[1] have espoused."

Gladstone's zeal for Italy.

Three-fourths of the House, and probably five-sixths of the public, agreed with Mr. Gladstone that the restoration of Italy to national life would be a new and solid guarantee for the peace and welfare of Europe. But over Italy herself there was impending a calamity which no human power could mitigate, and Italian doctors could not avert. The illustrious statesman to whose indomitable courage, long-sighted wisdom, and untiring energy she owed her deliverance from a foreign yoke had sacrificed his life to her service. The sword had worn out the scabbard, the strength of the body was not equal to the strain of the mind. Cavour worked up to the limits of his physical powers, and beyond them. As the first Prime Minister of Italy he lived to plead in the first Italian Parliament for the transference of the national capital from Turin, which he loved, to Rome, which he abhorred.[2] Where the interests of his country were concerned he had no self. He

[1] Sir George Bowyer and Mr. Pope Hennessy.

[2] Cavour was a thorough Piedmontese, and he cared nothing for the art of Rome.

saw his work on the eve of completion, though not actually complete. He met, with the good humour which seldom failed him, the attacks of Garibaldi in the Chamber for having betrayed Nice. That was not the opinion of his countrymen, nor has it been the judgment of posterity. Garibaldi was under the influence, perhaps more than he knew, of Mazzini, who would have put off the liberation of Italy, if necessary, for a hundred years until she could achieve it herself, and establish a Republic. Cavour was essentially practical, and he did not waste a thought on schemes which he did not believe to be possible. From the day when he sent the Piedmontese contingent to the Crimea till the day when he visited the French Emperor at Plombières he laboured incessantly for the regeneration of his country through England and France. He captured Louis Napoleon, and held him fast. He enlisted the generous sympathy and secured the sagacious support of the three English statesmen at whom Lord Clarendon thought fit to sneer as "confederates."[1] The object of their confederacy was the extension of human freedom, and in the promotion of it they acted with Count Cavour. At the end of May the Count was attacked by typhoid fever, and succumbed in a few days to medical treatment at the age of fifty-one. The sorrow of his countrymen was inexpressible, and when it became known that he was dying, the people of Turin waited in silence before his house. Every one knew that not in this world would he see again the like of that great man. It is natural that Englishmen should feel peculiar reverence for the memory of Cavour. No foreigner ever studied more closely, understood more thoroughly, or admired more sincerely the character and institutions of the English people. Next to Italy he

1861.

Cavour and Garibaldi.

Death of Cavour, June 5.

[1] "Greville Memoirs," 12th January 1860.

1861. loved England, and the practical moderation of her ordered freedom. He was an aristocrat, not a democrat; a Liberal, not a Radical; a free trader, not a Socialist. When O'Connell was at the height of his power, and Cavour was almost unknown, the young Italian argued that the Irish leader was wrong because he aimed at the repeal of the union, which was impossible, and not at the disestablishment of the Irish Church, which was attainable. A determined enemy of priestcraft, Cavour never ceased to be a Catholic, and received the last sacraments from a friendly priest. His dying words, so far as they were coherent, related to Italy, and were in full accord with his noble career. He repeated several times that there must be no state of siege at Naples. "Any one," he said, in words now painfully hackneyed, "any one can govern in a state of siege." More than once he expressed his confidence that things would now go well, and referred to his favourite ideal of a free Church in a free State. Cavour was no enemy of the Church as a spiritual body. What he could not as a Liberal tolerate was her authoritative interference in political affairs. He died too young for Italy, though not for his own fame. Again and again in the troubled years that followed did his country feel the want of his strong hand, his cheerful confidence, his subtle brain. Those whose intrigues he baffled called him an intriguer. Those whose liberties he won called him a patriot. In the circumstances which surrounded him he could hardly have been the one without being the other. His intrigues never had a selfish motive. They were directed to the good of his country, and to that alone. In acting as his allies, or "confederates," the Cabinet of the Queen consulted the cause of justice, the principles of nationality, the wishes of their countrymen, and the happiness of mankind.

CHAPTER XI

THE END OF THE JOINT REIGN

THE session of 1861 was chiefly famous for Mr. Gladstone's Budget, and for his victory over the House of Lords. But a Bill in which he took too little interest until it was too late had an effect of which he was the first, though by no means the only, victim. At that time three Universities, and only three, returned members to Parliament. They were Oxford, Cambridge, and Dublin. The constituents were, of course, scattered all over the world, though, in term time, and, to some extent, out of it, there was a residential electorate on the spot. If a man from a distance wanted to vote at a Parliamentary Election for a University, he had to come up, and declare his preference in public, like any common elector for any common county or borough. Why should he not? His academic vote was a special privilege, which he enjoyed, and might exercise, in addition to his vote as an owner of property. Macaulay's comic ballad, "The Country Clergyman's Trip to Cambridge," describes the zeal with which the "fen parsons" rallied round the Church, and took long journeys by coach, to save their University from being misrepresented by a man of education. They had to suffer some personal inconvenience for their pains, of which no one then proposed to relieve them. It was not until railways had smoothed the path

1861.

The University Voting-Paper Bill.

1861. from the rural parsonage to the academic polling-place that Mr. Dodson, a Liberal and an Oxford man, proposed to dispense with personal attendance, and to let graduates living at a distance vote by post. For this indulgence no good reason was given, and the Government ought to have opposed the Bill. If the law invests men with a peculiar and superfluous right, they may fairly be expected to take some trouble in using it. As April 24. introduced, the Bill provided that every vote, with the voter's signature verified by a justice of the peace, should be sent to the Vice-Chancellor as returning officer. A Select Committee made things worse by proposing that votes might be sent to any elector, or, in other words, that proxies might be given and accepted. They were not proxies in the strict and literal sense, empowering the holder, as a Peer holding a proxy in the House of Lords was empowered, to vote as he pleased in the name of the donor. The name of the candidate, as well as the name of the elector, was specified on the voting-paper. The real objection to the Bill, besides unnecessary departure from ordinary principle, was stated by the Bishops of London and Oxford, Tait and Wilberforce, who did not often agree, in the House of Lords. It gave a preponderating voice to country clergymen, who formed the bulk of the academic constituency. The franchise was confined to Masters of Arts who had kept their names on the books by an annual subscription, or by compounding. This was a strange specimen of an intellectual suffrage, and it was made all the stranger by Mr. Dodson's Bill, which, though the Government frowned upon it, became law.

This Bill made its slow way to the Statute Book with very few divisions except on questions of adjournment. A measure which more directly

concerned the Church of England ended in the same sort of excitement which prevails at Epsom and Newmarket. Sir John Trelawny's annual Bill for the abolition of Church Rates had arrived safely at its third reading, when the tellers announced that the Ayes and the Noes were equal, 274 members having voted on either side. The fate of the Bill, therefore, rested in the hands of the Speaker. It is customary to say that the Speaker of the House of Commons has, in case of equality, a casting vote, but this is not a strictly accurate statement. For a casting vote implies that the person giving it has voted already, and the Speaker votes only in case of a tie. On this occasion Speaker Denison had need of all his tact, dignity, and prudence. Precedents to guide him there were none. In similar circumstances his predecessors had acted on the principle of voting with the Ayes, because that gave the House another opportunity of expressing an opinion. But this was the final stage, and he could not with constitutional propriety advert to what might happen in "another place." It was a hard nut, but the Speaker found the best way of cracking it. The division, he said, showed that the House hesitated, and from the tone of the debate he inferred that most members would prefer a less stringent reform. He therefore, to the great delight of the Opposition, gave his vote with the Noes. His decision had no practical importance, for the Lords would certainly have thrown out the Bill. Mr. Gladstone still voted against it, and even so shrewd an observer as Mr. Disraeli believed that the power of making Dissenters pay for the repair of Churches was vital to the establishment. Lord Derby, as he plainly told his supporters, had at that time no desire to turn Lord Palmerston's Government out. But short of this, he was quite

1861.

June 19.

The tie on the Church Rates Bill.

1861.

The inequalities of the income tax.

ready to employ his forces of offence in both Houses of Parliament. The inequalities of the income tax are a stock subject of grievance, and Mr. Hubbard[1] carried against the Chancellor of the Exchequer the appointment of a Committee to inquire into them. But when the Committee came to sit, and began to understand the subject, they realised the truth of what Mr. Gladstone said in 1853. "I will not," observed the great financier, in reference to the discrimination of incomes, industrial and otherwise, "I will not call it a Herculean labour; for a Herculean labour means one which Hercules could have performed, and this, I am persuaded, he could not." Certainly Mr. Hubbard could not, nor his Committee, of which nothing came. With the Bankruptcy Bill the Conservatives were more successful. The English law of bankruptcy still deserved the epithet of barbarous. The essence of it, as all readers of Dickens know, was that an insolvent debtor became the slave of his creditors, who had the right to keep him in prison until he had paid the uttermost farthing, although his failure might have been due to unavoidable misfortune. Even the Crown could not release him, for he had committed no crime, and was only arrested on civil process. On the other hand, by crossing the seas in good time, and residing at Boulogne, a debtor might defy his creditors, and live in luxury at their expense. Although Lord Brougham had done something to mitigate the rigour, and correct the injustice, of the law, it still remained a scandal to a civilised community, when Lord Palmerston's Attorney-General, Sir Richard Bethell, took it in hand. Bethell, though gifted with consummate ability, and a commanding intellect, was not popular either in the House of Commons or at the Bar. He was by nature domineering, arrogant,

The Bankruptcy Bill.

[1] The first Lord Addington.

and aggressive. He claimed to be a humble Christian, and once told his constituents at Wolverhampton that it was to his Christian virtues rather than to any unusual powers of mind that he owed his success in life. But his charity began and ended at home. Simple and affectionate to his family and friends, he poured out the vials of his contempt upon the mass of mankind, whom, like Carlyle, he considered to be "mostly fools." 1861.

A genuine and thorough-going reformer, with a clear head, and a fine grasp of broad principles, he would have done more good in politics if he had not been so consciously superior to the rest of the world. Having established the Divorce Court, he turned his hand to bankruptcy, and in 1860 introduced a measure which would at once have consolidated and amended the law. This colossal Bill, which contained about four hundred clauses, broke down under its own weight, and next year he tried amendment without consolidation. When he introduced his new Bill, he characteristically explained to the House that he had mutilated his scheme and deprived it of half its value, for the sake of meeting unreasonable objections, founded on prejudice and misunderstanding. The Bill did not quite correspond with the lofty professions of the Attorney-General. It was not sweeping enough, and in particular it did not abolish the cruelty of imprisonment for debt. But it ensured that that imprisonment should be for a limited period, not exceeding twelve months, at the discretion of the Court, and not at the choice of the creditor. It did away with the irrational distinction between bankruptcy and insolvency. Hitherto only traders could become bankrupt and get the benefit of a composition with their creditors. A man not in trade, who was unable to pay his debts, could obtain no release from his liabilities until he

1861. had been actually in gaol, and even then a single creditor could prevent a discharge. The Bill facilitated voluntary arrangements without the intervention of the law, and at the same time made a debtor's absence from the country for more than six months without payment of his debts presumptive evidence of insolvency. This was perhaps rather hard on the keepers of lodgings at Boulogne. But the innocent must sometimes suffer for the guilty. The Commissioners of the Insolvent Debtors' Court, now merged in the Court of Bankruptcy, were abolished, but provision was made for a Chief Judge to hear appeals, instead of the Lords Justices in Chancery. The County Courts were also empowered to deal with cases of bankruptcy when a majority of creditors desired it. The Bill passed through the House of Commons smoothly enough. For while eminent lawyers like Sir Hugh Cairns criticised it severely, the men of business gave it a steady, silent support. Its troubles began in the House of Lords, where Lord Derby, at the instigation of Lord Cranworth, who liked neither the Bill nor the author, insisted on referring it to a Select Committee. The Committee, consisting chiefly of law lords, cut it to pieces, and expunged the clauses which provided for the appointment of a Chief Judge. The Peers also prevented the Bill from being retrospective in its operation, and thus relieved the feelings of many Englishmen living within two hours of Folkestone. In order to save the Bill the Government gave way on this point and some others, but adhered to the Chief Judge, over whom there was a serious controversy between the two Houses. The last round of the fight occurred in the House of Lords on the 27th of July. But before that stage of the conflict there had been a striking change in the position of the combatants. Until the Bill

came back from the Commons, it was in the hands of Lord Chancellor Campbell. On Friday the 21st of June Lord Campbell presided over the House of Lords. On Saturday the 22nd he attended a meeting of the Cabinet, and gave a dinner party at his house in Kensington. On the morning of Sunday the 23rd he was found dead in his chair. His life was singularly prosperous, and the suddenness of his end was what he himself desired. He did not add to his fame as Lord Chancellor. But as Lord Chief Justice he was reckoned one of the best judges who ever sat in Westminster Hall. He was succeeded by the Attorney-General, who took charge, as Lord Westbury, at its final stage in the Lords of the Bill he had conducted through the House of Commons. He fought hard for his Chief Judge, but he did not understand his audience. The Peers were not accustomed to being bullied, even from the Woolsack, by a man who had just taken his seat among them. When he lectured them on their audacity in appointing a Select Committee, and blandly told Lord Cranworth that he did not know the law, they replied by adhering to their amendment, and the Government gave up the point rather than lose the Bill. The Lord Chancellor declared it to be useless. But that was the language of disappointed petulance. Although the Lords, as they afterwards admitted, were wrong, the amended, or mangled, Bill was a great improvement of the old law. Nor was it the only legal reform of the year 1861. The Criminal Law Consolidation Bills, six in number, belong to the same date, and they are still the nearest approach we have made to a Criminal Code.

1861.

Death of Lord Campbell.

While the legislative achievements of the year, including the repeal of the paper duty, were by no means contemptible, the Report of the Duke of Newcastle's Commission was lamentable evidence

1861.

Report of the Education Commission.

of inefficiency in a matter of vital concern. The Commission, of which the Duke was chairman and Dr. Temple, of Rugby, an active member, had been directed to inquire into the state of popular education in England. It was the rapid growth of the Parliamentary grant which caused Lord Palmerston to institute this inquiry. But the false economists who grudged the expenditure got no comfort from the Commissioners, who by a large majority recommended that there should be no reduction at all. They proposed, however, to transfer rather more than half the grant, which then stood at three-quarters of a million, from the Exchequer to the local rates. The education itself they found to be miserably defective, so much so that only about one-fourth of the children at elementary schools were thoroughly grounded in reading, writing, and arithmetic. As a remedy, they suggested a capitation grant, to depend upon the number of scholars who passed satisfactorily in these three subjects. Both the beggarly amount spent upon teaching the next generation, and the results which such sums as could be extracted from Parliament achieved, were discreditable to the richest country in the world.

The death of Lord Campbell was not the only break in the Cabinet during the session of 1861. Lord Herbert of Lea, better known as Sidney Herbert, was compelled in the month of July to retire from public life. He was, in fact, a dying man, and on the 2nd of August he passed away at the age of fifty. Had he lived, he might have attained the first position in the State. For though his abilities were not of the highest order, he excelled in the serviceable art of Parliamentary speaking, his tenure of the War Office was remarkably successful, and his chivalrous character was in keeping with his illustrious name. To fill

Death of Sidney Herbert.

his place was found extremely difficult, and after two other Ministers had refused it, it was finally accepted by Cornewall Lewis, perhaps the least martial among all Ministers of War. Sir George Grey returned to the Home Office like the magnet to the pole; Mr. Cardwell became Chancellor of the Duchy; and to the Irish Office Lord Palmerston with more than his usual recklessness sent Sir Robert Peel, whose qualifications for a post requiring tact, judgment, and reticence were a melodious voice, a fluent delivery, and an habitual looseness of tongue. Lord Herbert had sat for only a few months in the House of Lords. His fame belonged to the House of Commons. From that House, the greatest of free assemblies, a still more familiar figure was at the close of this session withdrawn. Lord John Russell had been a member of Parliament ever since his majority. He was now in his sixty-ninth year, and it had become a family tradition that he was in delicate health. By the death of his brother, the Duke of Bedford,[1] in May, he had succeeded to a small Irish estate, and on the 30th of July he took his seat in the House of Lords as Earl Russell of Kingston. Only one Foreign Secretary has since sat in the House of Commons, where the hours are supposed to be incompatible with a proper discharge of the most laborious office in the Government. Sir James Graham, who died on the 25th of October, was a Parliamentary chicken compared with Earl Russell, though he had sat in the House of Commons almost continuously since 1830, and was Member for Carlisle at the time of his death. He had few rivals either in debate

1861.

Earl Russell.

Death of Sir James Graham.

[1] Francis, seventh Duke of Bedford, was unknown to the public except as a great landowner, and never spoke in the House of Lords. But he was consulted by all sorts of political personages, his extensive correspondence included the Court, and he had great influence in Whig circles behind the scenes. See the "Greville Memoirs," *passim*.

1861. or in administration, and at the Admiralty his name is still held in esteem. But his political career was tortuous, and he suffered from natural incapacity to make up his mind. Though not a very old man at the time of his death, he had been Whig, Peelite, Conservative, and Liberal. Like his friend and master, Peel, he became more Liberal, and not, as usually happens, more Conservative, as he grew in years.

The Mexican Expedition.

A troubled and anxious period was the autumn recess of 1861. It began with the Mexican Expedition, of which the history was on this wise. The President of the Mexican Republic, Benito Juarez, a full-blooded Indian by race, was no military adventurer, but a prudent and honest lawyer, who had made his way by the ladder of public service to the head of the State. Mexico, however, had been for three years ravaged with a civil war levied by the adherents of General Zuloaga and General Miramon against the Constitutional Government of Juarez. Property was insecure, even life was not safe, and a large sum of money was stolen from the British Legation. Thereupon the British Minister, Mr. Mathew, was withdrawn, and in April a special envoy, Sir Charles Wyke, was sent out to demand redress. Sir Charles depicted the situation in the gloomiest colours. According to his first despatch, President Juarez was a merciless despoiler of the Church, and a profligate waster of revenue which should have gone in payment of debt. The British Envoy did Juarez more justice when he came to know him better. The Church in Mexico was like the Church in Spain, and the President, as a Liberal, was brought into unavoidable antagonism with its claims. He wished to rule righteously, and to meet his engagements. But he was not a despot, and the Mexican Congress, which he was unable

to control, suspended payment of the foreign debt for two years. This was the last straw which broke the patience of the Powers. The Mexican bondholders were entitled to no sympathy whatever. They had chosen, for the sake of high interest, to invest their money with their eyes open on bad security, and it was preposterous that the British fleet, maintained by the whole population of the United Kingdom, should be employed in collecting the dividends of Mexican bonds. Injuries to the persons and property of peaceful foreigners resident in Mexico were no doubt a legitimate ground for diplomatic protest, or in the last resort for coercive measures. It was agreed that England, France, and Spain should act together, and a joint convention between them was signed in London on the last day of October. The object of this instrument was stated to be "more efficacious protection for the persons and properties of their subjects, as well as a fulfilment of the obligations contracted towards their Majesties by the Republic of Mexico." Thus the claims of the bondholders, who had only themselves to thank for their losses, were injudiciously mixed up with the redress of legitimate grievances which no State could afford to pass over. Such was the preamble of the convention. The convention itself provided for the despatch of "combined naval and military forces" to occupy the various forts and military positions on the Mexican coast. By a self-denying clause the contracting parties bound themselves not to acquire territory, not to seek any special advantage, and "not to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico any influence of a nature to prejudice the right of the Mexican nation to choose and to constitute freely the form of its Government." England and Spain were perfectly sincere in using this form of words. The Emperor of the French was not. The influence which he

1861. July 17.

The French Emperor's designs.

1861. desired to exercise in the internal affairs of Mexico was both definite and precise. He proposed to overturn the Republic of Mexico at his leisure, as he had overturned the Republic of France in his haste, and to set up a Mexican empire, with the Archduke Maximilian of Austria at its head. His principal and agent for this purpose was one Almonte, a Mexican refugee. Lord Russell was not desirous of undertaking a Mexican campaign, and he soon began to suspect the good faith of our imperial ally. General Prim, the representative of Spain, was trustworthy and straightforward. But the French Minister, M. de Saligny, was shifty and evasive. Vera Cruz surrendered to the Spanish fleet without firing a shot, and the British line-of-battle ship with two frigates, which followed under Captain Dunlop, had nothing to do. "If," wrote Lord Russell to Sir Charles Wyke, "the Mexican people by a spontaneous movement placed the Austrian Archduke on the throne of Mexico, there is nothing in the convention to prevent it. On the other hand, we could be no parties to a forcible intervention for this purpose." President Juarez, being a very shrewd, capable man, soon perceived who his real enemies were. He satisfied by reasonable concessions the demands of England and Spain. He prepared for war with France. As soon as it became evident that the object of the French Emperor was not to obtain satisfaction for wrongs done, but to occupy the Mexican capital and reorganise the Mexican Government, England and Spain withdrew from the expedition altogether. Louis Napoleon went forward to his doom. The courtiers of Paris prophesied victory, and there was no Micaiah to break the unanimity of the chorus. Events more than justified the withdrawal of the British and Spanish forces. If the Cabinet had known before the mission of Sir Charles Wyke all that they knew

The withdrawal of England and Spain.

after it, they would probably not have sent even Captain Dunlop's tiny squadron, with its seven hundred supernumerary marines. To preserve life and property in civil war as if the times were profoundly peaceful is more than can be expected even of a ruler so painstaking and conscientious as Benito Juarez. 1861.

The fourth and last article in the Mexican Convention, which was added at the instance of Lord Russell, provided that the United States should be invited to join the three European Powers. But the expression "United States" had become inapplicable to the Federal Union of 1788, and the Government at Washington had something else to think of than the Monroe doctrine or the affairs of Mexico. Secession was an accomplished fact. The Civil War had begun. On the 6th of November 1860 Abraham Lincoln, of Illinois, the Republican candidate, was elected President of the United States. His election was perfectly regular and constitutional. No one could impeach it on any legitimate ground. But it was regarded by the Southern States as a sufficient reason for seceding from the Union. They were afraid that, if they did not secede, they would be deprived of their slaves and ruined. Yet Lincoln was no Abolitionist. There were American citizens who gloried in that name, and openly invited slaves to rise against their masters. Such an one was John Brown, of Harper's Ferry, a hero and martyr of freedom, who was executed for high treason on the 2nd of December 1859. "Gentlemen," he said on the scaffold, "make an end of slavery, or slavery will make an end of you." Lincoln was neither a saint nor a fanatic, but a rigid Constitutionalist, bent on maintaining the Union and upholding the law. By the American Constitution slavery was a matter of State right, and the Federal Congress could not

The Civil War in America.

1861. interfere with it in any State where it existed. Nay, more. The Supreme Court had decided in the Dred Scott case, through Chief Justice Taney, that the master of a negro slave might pursue him from a Slave State into a Free State, capture him, and bring him home. This law the new President declared his intention to respect, and it was Chief Justice Taney who administered to him the oath of office. The controversy between North and South raged over the territories and the new States. A territory was a recently-acquired portion of American soil which had not yet obtained a constitution, or been admitted among the States. Congress had the power of legislating for territories, and it rested with Congress to determine the constitution of a new State. The Republicans had made up their minds that there should be no more Slave States, and with a growing majority of Free States the "peculiar institution" seemed to be in peril. For two-thirds of the Senate and the House of Representatives might, with the consent of the people, have amended the Constitution so as to abolish slavery altogether. But in that case no wrong would have been done to any one, and in any case the lawful choice of a duly qualified President by a vote of the whole Union was the worst possible reason for secession, or for war. The legitimate grievance of the South was the Protective System of the Union. The Morrill tariff, then in force, was an iniquitous one. For the benefit of the Northern States, which were manufacturing communities, it deprived the Southern States, which produced only raw material, such as cotton, sugar, and tobacco, of their right to import manufactured articles from Europe. That, however, was not the cause of disruption. It was the prospect of losing their slaves, and with their slaves, as they thought, the value

of their estates, which excited the anger and apprehension of the Southern planters. The first State which openly seceded was South Carolina, closely followed by Mississippi, Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Louisiana, and Texas. The Secessionists began by the simple process of seizing the forts and arsenals belonging to the Union within the limits of their own States. Fort Sumter at Charleston was thus occupied by the rebels of South Carolina, and it was at the ship sent from Washington to the assistance of Fort Sumter that the guns of Morris Island, on the 9th of January 1861, fired the fatal shot which proclaimed the disruption of the Union. For four months after his election, Lincoln was compelled to watch in silence and inactivity the progress of dismemberment. He did not come into office till the 4th of March, and before that he could do nothing. The weakness and vacillation of President Buchanan, who, as a Democrat, and therefore an upholder of State rights, more than half sympathised with the South, were notorious. His Cabinet was divided, and barely half of it was loyal to the Union. In February the States which up to that time had seceded met at Montgomery, Alabama, and chose Jefferson Davis, a man of no account, to be their President. The inaugural Address of the real President at Washington a few weeks later explicitly affirmed in the fullest sense the independence of each State within its own sphere. But at the same time, in equally emphatic language, Lincoln denied the right of any State to secede. "I hold," he said, "that in the contemplation of universal law and of the Constitution, the union of these States is perpetual." Appealing to the Southern States, whose President he legally was, he said, "In your hands, my dissatisfied fellow-countrymen, and not in mine, is the momentous issue of civil war. The Govern-

1861.

Dec. 20, 1860.

Lincoln's inaugural.

1861. ment will not assail you." Finally, in language which has become justly famous, he expressed a pious hope. "The mystic cords of memory," he said, "stretching from every battlefield and patriot grave to every living heart and hearthstone all over this broad land, will yet swell the chorus of the Union, when touched again — as surely they will be — by the better angels of our nature."

No circumstances could well be less encouraging than those in which Lincoln assumed office. Six weeks after the delivery of his inaugural Address, Fort Sumter surrendered to the Confederate April 13. General Beauregard, and the Civil War began. State after State seceded. Virginia, where, however, there was a strong Unionist minority, Arkansas, Tennessee, and North Carolina had joined the Confederates before the end of May. Abraham Lincoln. To Lincoln's Proclamation calling out the Militia, Jefferson Davis responded by an appeal to arms, and a threat to issue letters of marque. But Lincoln did not flinch. No man ever desired war less. No man would have done more to avoid it, short of admitting the right to secede. As a Republican he had been elected to defend the Union. As President he had sworn to preserve the Constitution. He was faithful to his trust and to his oath. Abraham Lincoln was at that time almost unknown in Europe. To the Southern States he represented merely an odious principle of shopkeeping ascendency, and even his own supporters did not fully understand him. An English statesman,[1] justly esteemed for the general sagacity of his views, sneered at the new President as a "village attorney." Parts of his character were still hidden from view, but his eloquence was already famous. It had been amply displayed in his contest with Stephen Douglas for the Senate of Illinois,

[1] Cornewall Lewis.

and more recently in his inaugural Address. His farewell speech to his friends and neighbours at Springfield, when he left them on his memorable journey to Washington, may be set beside the simplest and choicest passages in the oratory of John Bright. Though mainly self-taught, the son of an Illinois rail-splitter, Lincoln had read many books, and the unsuspected range of his information was constantly surprising his friends. A lawyer by profession, he never failed to see the point of an argument, and was always fertile in replies. The richness and raciness of his humour, not always, it is said, strictly decorous, have never, even in his own country, been surpassed. His fund of anecdotes, most of which he is believed to have invented, was apparently inexhaustible, and he was currently reported never to have told the same story twice. These qualities, and his imperturbable temper, were familiar throughout the North. But not until he was confronted with a task truly described by himself as greater than Washington's did the world, or even his intimates, discover his calm fortitude in adversity, his magnanimous temper in prosperity, his profound sympathy with opinions he did not share, his patience with folly and error, his long-sighted wisdom, his unshaken faith in the final triumph of good. He was indeed a strange mixture of openness and reserve. There was the Lincoln who would not let his Cabinet enter on business until he had poured out a flood of irresistible drollery upon every sort of subject, thus perhaps relieving his mind from a tension that it could not otherwise have borne. There was also the melancholy, mystic, brooding Lincoln, a dreamer of dreams, and a believer in them, as gentle and tender as he was strong and brave, feeling the losses of the South only less acutely than the defeats of the North, horrifying his generals by his free par- 1861.

1861. dons of deserters and spies, hoping always for the reunion of the future, repeating his favourite text, "Judge not, and ye shall not be judged." With the doubtful exception of Washington, Lincoln was the greatest of all Americans, and Washington was substantially a British aristocrat, while Lincoln was racy of the soil.

The cotton famine, April 17. The importance of the Civil War in the United States to the people of the United Kingdom became manifest when the President issued a Proclamation declaring the Southern ports to be in a state of blockade. The effect of this perfectly legitimate measure upon the cotton trade of Lancashire was disastrous, and Lord Palmerston, with his usual promptitude, suggested to Milner Gibson the desirability of finding fresh supplies from India, Egypt, or East Africa. The recognition of this blockade involved the treatment of the Southerners as belligerents. The Federal Government protested that they were rebels, and technically, perhaps, they were so. But, in the first place, that was the very point in dispute (for there could be no question of rebellion if there were a right to secede), while, in the second place, belligerency is a fact which involves no moral or legal principle, and the Southerners were certainly in arms. The Queen's proclamation of neutrality appeared on the 13th of May. But it was impossible for the English people not to take sides, and unfortunately the upper and middle classes of society took for the most part the side of the South. For this there were various causes. Although slavery had been extinguished in all British possessions for a quarter of a century, it was a fashionable belief that negroes were fit for nothing else, and would do no work unless they were forced. Carlyle was a passionate supporter of this theory, and his influence was never stronger than in the early sixties. The Southerners

were described as "gentlemen," who recognised social distinctions though they had no titles, and who were not engaged in trade. Great stress was laid upon the abstract right of secession, which, like the abstract right of rebellion, can hardly be denied, and it was asked why, if George Washington might lawfully throw off his allegiance to George the Third, Jefferson Davis might not do the same by Abraham Lincoln. It was forgotten that the King only yielded to force, and that the loss of the North American colonies, however grievous, did not involve the disruption of the British Empire. There were some who thought the United States a dangerous Power, and desired that it should break up. There were many who thought that, for good or for evil, the thing had been done, and that the Union could not be restored by force. They failed to consider the vast resources of the nineteen Free Soil States, with a population of twenty millions and an area of a million square miles. The North had, as their own poet said, "a long row to hoe." But the spirit which animated the Northern statesmen was well expressed in the instructions given by Mr. Seward, the Secretary of State, to the new American Minister in Paris. "You cannot," wrote Mr. Seward on the 4th of May, "be too decided or too explicit in making known to the French Government that there is not now, nor has there been, nor will there be, any the least idea existing in this Government of suffering a dissolution of this Union to take place in any way whatever." There was, in fact, equal determination in both camps, and the issue to be decided was which could hold out the longer. The Confederates, who established their headquarters during the summer at Richmond, in Virginia, had a consummate General in Robert Lee, and their soldiers were the better trained. The first serious engagement of the war,

1861.

The maintenance of the Union.

1861. July 21, Federal defeat at Bull Run.

the battle of Bull Run, resulted in the defeat and rout of the Federal forces under General M'Dowell. This battle, in which the victory was due to "Stonewall" Jackson, the Puritan soldier, who for a time divided with General Lee the honours of the Confederate strategy, laid Washington open to attack. But the Confederates had lost almost as heavily as their defeated opponents, and were incapable of following up their victory. This most significant fact should have opened the eyes of the Englishmen who expected an easy triumph for the South. On the contrary, they at once assumed that the undisciplined levies of the North were cowards who would not fight, and proclaimed that the great Republican bubble had burst. Lincoln, who saw the survivors of Bull Run enter Washington in panic-stricken haste, never quailed for an instant. General Scott retired on account of infirmity from the control of the Federal army, and was succeeded by General M'Lellan. General Sherman, whose name will never be forgotten in the United States, invaded South Carolina, and Congress struck the first blow at slavery by providing that all property, including slaves, employed for insurrectionary purposes should be forfeited. All this was taken in England for mere bluff, and the independence of the South was regarded by most public men, notably by Mr. Gladstone, as assured. As might have been expected, Bright and Cobden were staunch friends of the Union. So, on the other side of politics, was Lord Stanley. But the first man in the highest rank of English society to speak out for freedom and unity was the Duke of Argyll. "I know of no Government," said the Duke, "which has ever existed in the world which could possibly have admitted the right of secession from its own allegiance." "Gentlemen," he added, "I think we ought to admit, in fairness to

British champions of the Union; Bright and Cobden, Lord Stanley, the Duke of Argyll.

Oct. 29.

the Americans, that there are some things worth fighting for, and that national existence is one of them." Parliament was not sitting, and the Duke was addressing his own tenants at Inveraray. But he was a brilliant speaker, as well as a Cabinet Minister, and his words, which precisely defined the situation, found their way across the Atlantic. 1861.

Such was the position of affairs when an untimely incident brought old and new England within a hair's breadth of war. Two Commissioners of the Southern Confederacy, Mason and Slidell, with their private secretaries, embarked at Havannah on the British mail steamer *Trent* for St. Thomas, whence they would have proceeded to Southampton. Mason was an envoy to the British Government, and Slidell to the French. The day after the *Trent* left Havannah, the 8th of November, a steamer fired a round-shot across her bows and showed American colours. The *Trent* stopped, and was boarded by an officer from the *San Jacinto*, Captain Wilkes, who forcibly arrested the American messengers, and despite the protests of the British agent for mails, carried them off in the *San Jacinto*. Captain Wilkes received the thanks of Congress for his spirited action, and was highly commended by Gideon Welles, the Secretary of the Navy. In England the impression made was naturally very different. The insult to the British flag was indignantly denounced, and the release of the prisoners was loudly demanded. There is not, and there never was, any reasonable doubt that Captain Wilkes and his emissary, Lieutenant Fairfax, committed a distinct breach of international law. The question whether Mason and Slidell were or were not rebels is irrelevant. They were on a neutral ship between two neutral ports, and Captain Wilkes had no right to touch them. But the case was one of extreme delicacy, and demanded

The case of the *Trent*.

1861. the most considerate treatment. Mason and Slidell were sent to enlist against their own countrymen the sympathies of England and France. They desired not only the recognition of the Southern Confederacy as an independent power, without which indeed they could not be officially received, but active assistance of a more material kind. It is, in the circumstances, hard to blame a patriotic officer like Captain Wilkes, who saw and seized an opportunity of arresting traitors. The British Government were in duty bound to insist upon the release of the prisoners, who had been taken in custody to Fort Warren in Massachusetts. Yet, it might have been supposed that the Foreign Secretary, in framing his despatch, while not forgetting the interests and the honour of his own nation, would have consulted the susceptibilities of the American people. He might have done so with the more safety and confidence because the strength of the British case was overwhelming. No claim which would cover the deportation of the Southern envoys had ever been made by any civilised Government, or recognised by any international lawyer. The nearest approach to it, and that was a long way off, had been the stoppage of American ships by British officers in 1812 for the purpose of seizing British seamen liable to naval service, and rather than acknowledge the justice of such a seizure the United States declared war. Lord Russell, however, had not the art of writing conciliatory despatches, and Lord Palmerston, whose sympathies were not with the North, was indisposed to make any allowance for the difficulties of President Lincoln. Had a peremptory and unqualified demand for satisfaction and redress gone out from Downing Street to Washington, it is impossible to say what might have ensued. For though war with England would probably have

led to the complete disruption of the Union, the temper of the North might have made it inevitable. Happily there was one sagacious counsellor who saw both the danger and the way to avert it. The Prince Consort, though already suffering from his last illness, mustered strength enough to insert with his own hand a vital amendment of Lord Russell's draft. His clear head and cool reason perceived the course which the American Government might steer between an ignominious submission and an unjustifiable pretence. There was no evidence that Captain Wilkes had been directed by any responsible Minister to board the *Trent*, and, as afterwards appeared, he had not. At the suggestion of His Royal Highness, which the Premier and the Foreign Secretary at once to their credit accepted, the following paragraph was incorporated in the official despatch to the Queen's representative at Washington.[1] "Her Majesty's Government, bearing in mind the friendly relations which have long subsisted between Great Britain and the United States, are willing to believe that the United States' naval officer who committed this aggression was not acting in compliance with any authority from his Government, or that, if he conceived himself to be so authorised, he greatly misunderstood the instructions which he had received."[2] Wiser words have seldom been written; few have achieved so practical and beneficent a result. Still, the situation remained for some weeks extremely critical. The despatch already quoted concluded by requiring the liberation of the four Southerners, with a suitable apology, and in another despatch of the same date the British Minister was directed to leave Washington in a week if those terms had not been granted. Urgent 1861.

[1] The words were not the Prince's, but their substance was due to him.
[2] Earl Russell to Lord Lyons, Nov. 30, 1861.

1861. preparations were made for the contingency of war, and reinforcements were hurried to Canada with all possible speed. The most violent articles appeared in the Press on both sides of the Atlantic. Not for half a century had our relations with the great Republic been so severely strained. European opinion was, for obvious reasons, strongly on the side of England. France, the only European Power directly concerned, sent an earnest remonstrance to Washington, which was communicated Dec. 3. to Lord Russell by Count Flahault, the French Ambassador in London. Austria and Prussia, somewhat officiously, took a similar course, but too late to affect the issue. More influential than the gratuitous advice of foreigners was the conciliatory temper of Lord Lyons, the British Minister to the United States. The second and last Lord Lord Lyons. Lyons, son of the popular sailor who had been ennobled for his naval achievements in the Crimean campaign, was one of those ideal diplomatists who spend their lives in removing difficulties created by others, and, so long as they can serve the interests of their country, are quite content to keep in the background themselves. The day after he received by special messenger Lord Dec. 19. Russell's despatch, he called on Mr. Seward, and acquainted him in general terms with its tenour. "I have come to you," he said, in effect, "without any written demand, or even any written paper. If your Government will of its own accord offer reparation, I will do everything I can to make it easy for you." Mr. Seward asked for a day's delay before expressing any opinion, and thanked the British Minister for his friendly tone. The American Cabinet, however, were so engrossed with business of all kinds that it was nearly a week before they arrived at their momentous decision. At length, on Christmas Day, they met, and deter-

mined to release their prisoners. An express statement from Mr. Seward that Captain Wilkes acted without instructions was accepted in lieu of an apology, and the maintenance of peace was thus assured. The credit for this satisfactory conclusion must be divided between the Prince Consort and President Lincoln. Lord Russell showed more tact at the end of the negotiations than he had shown at the beginning. It was in consequence of a private letter from him that Lord Lyons called upon Mr. Seward without bringing any written document, and on the same day he received Mr. Adams, the American Minister, at the Foreign Office in an amicable spirit. But it was the Prince Consort who laid the train which led to a settlement, and it was Lincoln to whom that settlement was finally due. The President of the United States is master of the Cabinet, and they are legally bound to carry out his orders. Lincoln was convinced by the opinion of his Attorney-General, Mr. Bates, and by his own knowledge of the law, that the British demands were just. Having reached that conclusion, he braved the disapproval of Congress and the censure of public opinion by ordering that the four prisoners should be "cheerfully liberated."

1861. Lincoln's decision.

Secretary Seward has left it on record[1] that his Note to Lord Lyons, dated the 26th of December, was drawn by himself, and adopted by the President after discussion in Cabinet. But without impugning this assertion, we may be permitted to infer from the phraseology of this most ingenious document that the shrewdness and humour of Lincoln were at one stage or another brought to bear upon its composition. A more plausible method of escape from untenable ground it would have been difficult for the wit of man to devise. On the point of Wilkes's independent action Mr.

Seward's despatch.

[1] Hay and Nicolay's *Life of Lincoln*, vol. v. p. 35.

1861. Seward, without casting any slur upon the captain, is explicit. "No directions," he writes, "had been given to him or any other naval officer to arrest the four persons named, or any of them, on the *Trent*, or on any other British vessel, or on any other neutral vessel, at the place where it occurred, or elsewhere." An affidavit could not be more definite. The Secretary proceeds to state that Captain Wilkes was entitled to capture a neutral vessel engaged in carrying contraband of war for the use and benefit of the insurgents. Persons, he argues, as well as things, may be contraband of war; and this seems clear, for otherwise neutral ships might convey soldiers to one of the belligerents. Wilkes had then a right to search the *Trent*, and also to take her as prize. But he did not take her as prize. He removed the envoys from her, and allowed her to go on her way. Up to this point, it will be observed, Mr. Seward justifies every act of the American captain. Here, however, he executes a judicious turn, and points out that this is where the difficulties of the case begin. A contraband vessel must be brought to a convenient harbour, and submitted to a Court of Admiralty. But Courts of Admiralty have no jurisdiction over persons. Therefore an armed captor would have to determine for himself whether unarmed neutrals were his legitimate prize, and such a proceeding would be contrary to the first principles of justice. The despatch of Secretary Madison in 1804, emphatically denying the British right of search for seamen, was quoted with great effect by Mr. Seward. This quotation was of course intended for Lord Russell and for public opinion in England. But the prudent Secretary of State did not ignore the susceptibilities of his own countrymen, and endeavoured to soothe them with the following paragraph:

"In coming to my conclusion I have not forgotten that, if the safety of this Union required the detention of the captured prisoners, it would be the right and duty of this Government to detain them; but the effectual check and waning proportions of the existing insurrection, as well as the comparative unimportance of the captured persons themselves, when dispassionately weighed, happily forbid us from resorting to that defence." 1861.

It is not to be supposed that, confident as Lincoln may have been of ultimate victory, he regarded the insurrection of the Southern States as the trivial thing here described. He felt the absolute necessity of inspiring the North with confidence by exhibiting it on all occasions himself. Lord Russell, in accepting, not too graciously, the compliance of the Federal Government, added a magisterial warning which might with advantage have been omitted. "In the meantime," he wrote to Lord Lyons (10th Jan. 1862) "it will be desirable that the commanders of the United States' cruisers should be instructed not to repeat acts for which the British Government will have to ask for redress, and which the United States' Government cannot undertake to justify." That is just the sort of thing which a true diplomatist does not say, because it adds to no one's knowledge, and causes irritation for no useful purpose. Lord Russell's further despatch (23rd Jan. 1862), in which he controverts some of Mr. Seward's general principles, is capable of justification because it helps to clear up some points of universal interest. In Mr. Seward's main contention, that Captain Wilkes might have seized the ship, though he had no right to remove the men, the law officers of the Crown agreed.[1] Both sides in this controversy, acknowledging the same foundation of their laws, 1862. Lord Russell's reply.

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 345.

1862. appealed to Sir William Scott, Lord Stowell, to uphold or to condemn the capture. But Lord Stowell was clearly in favour of the British Government. For he said, in the case of the *Caroline*, "The neutral country has a right to preserve its relations with the enemy, and you are not at liberty to conclude that any communication between them can partake, in any degree, of the nature of hostility against you." "Goods," he says elsewhere, "going to a neutral port cannot come under the description of contraband, all goods going there being equally lawful." It is fortunate that the opinion of the English law officers, Sir William Atherton and Sir Roundell Palmer, which must have been known to Lord Russell, was not also known to Mr. Seward, or these quotations from Lord Stowell would have had little effect upon him. At the close of the year Mason and Slidell, with their secretaries, were put on board a British man-of-war, and conveyed to Southampton, where they landed on the 29th of January. Lord Lyons gave Captain Hewett very judicious instructions. "It is hardly necessary that I should remind you," he wrote, "that these gentlemen have no official character. It will be right for you to receive them with all courtesy and respect, as private gentlemen of distinction; but it would be very improper to pay to them any of those honours which are paid to official persons." At Southampton not a cheer was raised by the crowd which witnessed their arrival. Slidell, who proceeded to Paris, received some encouragement, which only deceived him, from the Emperor of the French. Mason, who remained in London, was left to himself. The British Government were not yet prepared even to contemplate the recognition of the Southern States as an independent Power.

It cannot, however, be said that the reception by Parliament of President Lincoln's compliance with the demands of the Cabinet was altogether chivalrous and dignified. In the debate on the Address Lord Derby's language was most ungenerous, and he went so far as to taunt the United States with yielding only to threats of force. Lord Russell was more reserved. But his speech clearly showed that he regarded the success of the South as a question of time. There was, however, a conspicuous exception to the unwise and uncharitable tone adopted by too many leading Englishmen at this time in speaking of the Civil War beyond the Atlantic. Mr. Disraeli, in words which would have been a direct reply to Lord Derby if they had been delivered in the same House, protested against imputing motives to men absorbed in a patriotic struggle, and pleaded for a friendly construction of the American despatches. It is not to be supposed that Mr. Disraeli had any special knowledge of American politics or any particular interest in them. They were wide asunder indeed from the Asian mystery, which really fascinated him. But he was at that time much under the influence of Mr. Thomas Baring, whose financial arrangements with the United States gave him ample opportunities of ascertaining the truth about the ultimate capacities of the North, and Lord Stanley, with whom he was politically intimate, took the Northern side. His old friend and early patron, the aged Lord Lyndhurst, himself an American, though a British subject by birth, held that "the Secession was at variance with the principles of the Constitution, and not justified by any of the alleged grievances."[1] But whatever may have been the source from which it was derived, Mr. Disraeli's judgment was sound,

1862.

Feb. 6.

Attitude of Mr. Disraeli.

[1] Martin's *Life of Lyndhurst*, p. 497.

1862. and of incalculable importance, considering the position he held, for the future of the Anglo-Saxon race.

Death of the Prince Consort.

The Prince Consort did not live to see the consequences of his intervention in the case of the *Trent*. When he wrote those faltering lines, of which Sir Theodore Martin has preserved a facsimile, the hand of death was upon him. He had been more or less unwell throughout the autumn. In August he paid his third visit with the Queen to Ireland, was received by Lord Carlisle, one of the few popular Viceroys, and had the satisfaction of seeing the Prince of Wales go through his military exercises as a Guardsman at the Curragh. The Queen and the Prince spent also some days at Killarney, as the guests of Lord Castlerosse and Mr. Herbert of Muckross. From Ireland the Queen and Prince went, as usual, to Balmoral, and on their return to Windsor received a number of distinguished guests, including the Chancellor of the Exchequer and Mrs. Gladstone. The Prince was low, weak, and depressed. The death of his intimate friend the King of Portugal and family troubles weighed upon his mind. A few days after his successful intervention in the affair of the *Trent*, his untiring energy, which had been overstrained, gave way, and on the 6th of December he said to the Queen, "It is too much. You must speak to the Ministers."[1] Gastric fever, not then called typhoid, nor properly understood by doctors, set in, followed by congestion of the lungs, and the Prince sank from exhaustion on the night of the 14th. Although he was only forty-two, the same age as the Queen, who survived him for forty years, he had been for more than twenty years Her Majesty's husband, and had taken a prominent, though an unrecognised, part

[1] Martin's *Life of the Prince Consort*, vol. v. p. 431.

in all public and political affairs. His unpop- 1862.
ularity, which had at first been great, had almost disappeared, and was entirely eclipsed by his premature death. His private life was not only blameless, but exemplary, and a model to the Courts of Europe. A devoted husband, and an anxious, perhaps a too anxious, father, he had seen his eldest daughter happily married to the Crown Prince of Prussia, and the Princess Alice, who nursed him in his last illness, engaged to Prince Louis of Hesse. One of his latest, and certainly not one of his least felicitous arrangements, was the betrothal of the Prince of Wales to the beautiful and gracious Princess Alexandra of Denmark. In politics he was a free trader, and he was a Liberal in all matters of speculation or opinion. An undogmatic Protestant, and a dogmatic Royalist, the two parties with whom he had least sympathy were Radicals and High Churchmen. Nevertheless, he could appreciate the transcendent talents of Mr. Gladstone, and, astute courtier as Mr. Disraeli was, he never made any impression upon the Prince. He saw through the superficial qualities of the French Emperor to the hollow and treacherous depths below. His political mentors were Peel, who did him nothing but good, and Stockmar, who did him nothing but harm. From Peel he learnt the principles of commercial and constitutional freedom. From Stockmar he imbibed the maxims of a hide-bound monarchical pedantry, and the two lessons were always at conflict in his mind. If he had had to choose between the doctrine of passive obedience, and the Whig notion of monarchy as a mere figure-head, he would have pronounced for passive obedience. Palmerston and Russell were antipathetic to him, because they represented the spirit of the Whig Revolution, and in their hearts considered the Queen an appendage

1862. of the Crown. Within the limits of law and custom, which he had too much sense to infringe, he never failed to push the prerogative as far as he decently could, and it is possible that, if he had lived, he might have done something to revive the personal power of the Sovereign. He could always count upon the support of the Queen, who had no other will than his. Had the ordinary span of human existence been granted to him, the veteran statesmen who overawed him by their authority and experience would have passed away. His own influence was steadily growing, and the simple rectitude of his conduct was coming more clearly into view. Disinterested and unselfish, he regarded his position as a trust, and in magnifying it he was guided by duty rather than ambition. He had no belief in the party system, and not much in representative government. He thought he knew what was best for the people better than the people themselves. An Englishman he never became, though he wrote and spoke the English language with almost perfect facility. He was thoroughly and intensely German. But he gave his life to his adopted country, and it is certain that his public spirit would have raised him higher every year in the general esteem. As the patron of art, of science, of literature, of music, he convinced the best judges that he was not a dilettante, nor an amateur, but a thorough student, with a natural, and a highly cultivated, taste. No commercial or philanthropic enterprise which was really sound escaped his notice, or failed to enlist his sympathies. From the requirements of the largest hospital in London to the needs of the humblest labourers at the docks, nothing was too great, or too small, for his observation, or his interest. One of the simplest means by which the rich can give pleasure to the poor, the exhibition

of pictures on loan, is his idea, and his sense of responsibility to the public was a new lesson which his family learned from him. The gradual recognition of his multifarious activities must have enhanced his fame, and his constant presence at the Queen's side, while Ministers came and went, would have made him at sixty, for good or for evil, the most powerful man in England. For good, or for evil, it was not to be. "Came the blind fury with the abhorred shears, and slit the thin-spun life." He was probably the only man who did not regard his own death as a calamity. He had no great wish to live. "You cling to life," he said to the Queen, "I don't." He suffered from chronic dyspepsia, and his frame was never robust. He often said that fever must be fatal to him, and that he should not struggle against it. Perhaps, if he had, he might have recovered. 1862.

The Prince's death had no tangible or immediate effect upon the political situation. Parliament was not summoned. The Government went on as before. The Queen not unnaturally wished to do business with her Ministers at first through her private secretary. But the Cabinet respectfully declined to take this course, which would have been unconstitutional, and their decision, though apparently harsh, was probably the kindest as well as the best. Her Majesty was sustained by her stern sense of duty, her powerful will, and the perfect health which throughout life she enjoyed. But while everything thus went on in its accustomed order, the real change wrought by the Prince's death was immense. No one filled his place, or any part of it. The Prince of Wales, then a mere boy, was never suffered to take any part in public affairs. Henceforth the Queen, though she corresponded with the Crowned Heads of Europe, was guided by her Ministers, and by

Effects of the Prince's death.

1862. Palmerston's position.

her Ministers alone. The position of Lord Palmerston became stronger than ever. Palmerston was now seventy-six, and had spent most of his life in office. During the interval which elapsed between the departure of Lord Russell's despatch and the arrival of Mr. Seward's reply, which included the Prince's death, he was crippled and confined to his bed, by the severest illness of his life. But it was only gout, and he completely recovered from it before the session of 1862. Even while it lasted he attended to public business with his wonted vigour. The public admired his pluck, his energy, his unfailing cheerfulness and good humour. In July 1861 he rode down to Harrow in pouring rain, opened the Vaughan Library at his old school, rode back to London, and sat on the Treasury Bench till two o'clock next morning. He seemed, like Achilles, to be invulnerable. His influence over the House of Commons, where his actual majority could not be reckoned as high as fifteen, was complete, though it was conditional, and the condition was one which he found very easy to observe. He had only to abstain from all attempts at organic change, and he could reckon upon being undisturbed. Lord Derby did not then wish to turn him out. There was not much sympathy between the two men, and Derby strongly disapproved of Palmerston's ecclesiastical appointments. But the Conservative Leader had a dread of Radicalism, and he regarded Palmerston as the best available barrier against the encroachments of democracy. In the Cabinet Palmerston had achieved entire mastery over Russell, who saw everything through Palmerston's spectacles for the rest of their joint lives. His relations with the Chancellor of the Exchequer were less harmonious. Mr. Gladstone's zeal for economy was not at all to Palmerston's taste.

Lord Derby's support.

Palmerston and Gladstone.

At this time, and for some years afterwards, 1862.
Mr. Gladstone was much under the influence of Richard Cobden, and Cobden was constantly urging upon him the necessity for retrenchment. They both believed that the Commercial Treaty with France had put an end to the risk of war, and that the competitive expenditure of European nations upon armaments was the greatest danger to peace. Palmerston, on the other hand, had his pet scheme of fortifications, upon which he insisted on spending money with more zeal than wisdom. But in other respects he left the Chancellor of the Exchequer pretty much to himself, and a more vigilant guardian the British Treasury never had. Mr. Gladstone was now in his fifty-third year, and his position in the House of Commons was almost supreme. Although in the presence of the Prime Minister he could not lead the House, he was by general consent the first man in it. He possessed in the highest degree the three gifts which are most valuable in the public life of England. His eloquence was dignified, impressive, and occasionally splendid. No one surpassed him, if any one rivalled him, in the rapid cut and thrust of debate. Thirdly, his administrative efficiency was even in the strongest Government conspicuous. Deputations from great industries found that the Chancellor of the Exchequer understood their business as well as they understood it themselves. He was not at that time a popular man in the country. He lacked the lightness of touch, and still more the levity of tone, to which Lord Palmerston had accustomed the frequenters of public meetings and the readers of newspapers. His austere character inspired more respect than enthusiasm, and it was supposed, quite erroneously, that he had leanings towards the Church of Rome. The democratic fibre by which Bright

1862. from the first appealed to the unenfranchised masses was with Gladstone a development of later years. It is in the House of Commons that his ascendency was felt during the Palmerstonian period. The culture of Oxford, combined with the commercial instincts of Liverpool, was a valuable endowment for a Chancellor of the Exchequer who had to carry practical reforms by persuading educated men. Gladstone was confronted and criticised by the most consummately dexterous leader of the Opposition that the House of Commons has known. Of finance, or of any other business, Mr. Disraeli neither knew, nor cared to know, anything at all. Literature, and the showy side of politics, exhausted his interests in this sublunary sphere. He lived in the House of Commons, and he lived for it. His fund of patience seemed to be inexhaustible. He sat through the longest and dreariest debates without betraying by any outward symptom that he was bored. Alert and wakeful, especially when he seemed to be asleep, he was ready at any moment to take advantage of a situation or of an individual. Nothing escaped him which did not require research for its recognition, and though in those days his speeches were often inordinately long, his flashes of epigrammatic wit enlivened them. An Opposition so numerous, led by a Parliamentary champion of such skill and force, would have been too strong for any Government in ordinary times. But the peculiarity of the situation was that three-fourths of the Conservative party had more confidence in Palmerston than they had in Disraeli. Palmerston, so far as the affairs of the United Kingdom were involved, was a Conservative in everything but name. What was Disraeli? Nobody knew. When his whole career was unfolded to the world, it became

Gladstone and Disraeli.

apparent that the dreams of his youth were the ideals of his old age, and that the "Asian mystery" of *Tancred* had a definite meaning. But in 1861 the Asian mystery excited no interest even among lovers of the mysterious. It was as completely forgotten as the *Mysteries of Udolfo*. Disraeli's Parliamentary capacity was conspicuous and undeniable. His patriotism was less obvious, and his principles were as unintelligible to his own side as to the other. He imposed himself by sheer ability upon Lord Derby, and upon the Conservative benches of the House. Some young men of promise, such as Lord Stanley and Sir Stafford Northcote, were gathering round him. Lord John Manners, Lord Strangford, and other remnants of Young England, clung to him. But the rank and file of the Opposition, solid men who did not expect places, would not turn Palmerston out to put Disraeli in. It was a period of political stagnation, and the Budget was the Parliamentary event of the year. Whether the Chancellor of the Exchequer would have a surplus, and what he would do with it, were the most interesting of Parliamentary questions. Cobden once complained that Gladstone was not really an economic financier, because he adjusted burdens so skilfully that they ceased to be felt; and Gladstone himself at another time declared that so far from there being, in Johnson's phrase, an ignorant impatience, there was an ignorant patience of taxation. But no other public man of that day would have done more, and few would have done so much, to keep expenditure within bounds. Gladstone's Budgets were fortunate in not having after 1860 to run the risk of alteration by the House of Lords. For Lord Derby was now the real leader of the Peers, where a Conservative majority was once more permanently established. Lord Derby had let it

1862.

1862. be known that he would not take the responsibility of throwing out the Reform Bill of 1860, and, considering his record of the previous year, he hardly could. But he was quite ready to reject or mutilate any Bills of a controversial kind which might come from the other House. While Lord Palmerston led the Government in the House of Commons, and Lord Derby led the Opposition in the House of Lords, the most devoted admirer of things as they were might sleep as quietly in his bed as the Prime Minister slept on the Treasury Bench. The influence of the Court was, for a wonder, on Palmerston's side. After the change of Government in 1859, the second within a year and a half, both the Queen and the Prince were strongly impressed with the need of more stability in administration. Lord Derby was aware of this feeling, and though no courtier, had a good deal of sympathy with it. After the Prince Consort's death there was for some time a natural disinclination to trouble the Queen with a political crisis which could be reasonably avoided. Whether Lord Derby could have displaced Lord Palmerston again is extremely doubtful, for if beaten in the House of Commons the Premier would probably have dissolved Parliament. But it is certain that he made no very strenuous efforts to obtain for a third time the office without power which he had twice held and lost. Palmerston's chief danger did not lie with those who desired office, but with independent Radicals who were dissatisfied with his superficial Liberalism, and his indifference to the growth of expenditure. If they had been willing, as some of them were, to join the Opposition in an attack upon the Government, and if the Opposition had been willing, as part of it was, to co-operate with the Radicals, the defeat of the Government would have been inevitable, though the ultimate con-

sequences of that defeat were by no means sure. 1861.
Mr. Cobden earnestly pursued his policy for the mutual disarmament of England and France. He addressed at the close of 1861 a long and able Memorandum on the subject to the Prime Minister himself. It is most characteristic of his mind that instead of confining himself to plausible generalities, like so many apostles of peace, he took the particular point of wooden line-of-battle ships. These vessels would, he argued, in future be useless, in consequence of the improvements in explosive shells. They would be nothing but huge slaughter-houses, and any Government which sent one of them into action against an iron-plated ship would deserve to be impeached. England, he estimated, had sixty or seventy of these ships; France between thirty and forty. Nobody proposed to build any more. Why should not these hundred obsolete means of war be destroyed, or converted to other purposes, by agreement between the two Powers? Starting from this proposal, which would certainly have done very little of itself to promote economy, or to diminish the chances of war, Cobden went on to suggest that, as the progress of scientific invention, which could not be checked, encouraged waste in the construction of armaments only to become useless within a few years, the navies of England and France, instead of being, as heretofore, proportionately increased, should be proportionately diminished. "Nor should it be forgotten," he added, "that the financial pressure caused by these rival armaments is a source of constant irritation to the populations of the two countries. The British tax-payers believe, on the authority of their leading statesmen, that the increased burden to which they are subjected is caused by the armaments on the other side of the Channel. The people of France are

Cobden's proposals for disarmament.

1861. probably taught to feel similarly aggrieved towards England." These are wise words, and Palmerston could not deny their wisdom. But he took refuge in his favourite axiom that man was a fighting animal, and he pointed with something almost like glee to the example of a Republic, where the masses governed, which was yet more pugnacious than any Monarchy.

CHAPTER XII

THE CLOSE OF THE PALMERSTONIAN ERA

No sooner had the Duke of Newcastle's Commission on Elementary Education presented its Report than Lord Palmerston, mainly at the instance of Mr. Gladstone, appointed another Commission, over which Lord Clarendon presided, to deal with public schools. This step cannot be called premature. For the education given at Harrow, the Prime Minister's school, and at Eton, the Chancellor of the Exchequer's, was in 1861 almost incredibly meagre. Latin and Greek were no doubt exceedingly well taught to boys who would learn them. But nobody was made to learn them, and scarcely anything else was taught at all. 1861. The Public Schools Commission.

At the same time, just before the rising of Parliament, there appeared the Revised Code of Elementary Education, which raised throughout the autumn a controversial storm. Professing to embody the recommendations of the Commissioners' Report, it really went a good deal further, and was the work of Mr. Robert Lowe, Vice-President of the Council. Few cleverer men than Mr. Lowe have sat in the House of Commons since the days of Simon de Montfort. A brilliant scholar at Winchester and Oxford, he had emigrated soon after taking his degree to New South Wales, where he entered Parliament, and practised at the The Revised Code. Mr. Lowe.

1861. Bar. He brought back from Australia a hatred of democracy, and he possessed by nature the gift of saying unpopular things in the most unpopular way. Among his friends he was a delightful talker, and Chief Justice Cockburn, a very competent critic, pronounced him to be the best possible company on a wet Sunday in a country house. He was capable of great eloquence, and his best speeches are among the finest in the English language. But with all his accomplishments he had no real aptitude for public affairs. His vision was so defective that for practical purposes he might almost as well have been blind. He was totally devoid of tact, and he applied to the business of life the logic of the porch. The principle of the Revised Code, of which he assumed the responsibility, was payment by results. At that time the Parliamentary grant for education, which, though it would seem small enough now, had been growing rapidly for some years, was paid only to schools connected with religious denominations and societies. The inspectors were approved by the Archbishops, and were for the most part clergymen.[1] Compulsion, said Mr. Lowe, who never saw far ahead, was out of the question in this country. Elementary education was neither cheap nor efficient. He declared, in his epigrammatic way, that if it were not cheap, it should be efficient; and if it were not efficient, it should be cheap. He proposed to withdraw the subsidies from training colleges, and to pay a capitation grant to elementary schools for all attendances over a hundred, provided that the children passed an examination in reading, writing, and arithmetic. This purely secular arrangement caused a great outcry, and religion was declared to be in danger. The Government were not strong enough to resist the Opposition,

Payment by results.

[1] A distinguished exception was Mr. Matthew Arnold.

and to conciliate it the Code was modified. It was agreed that the children should be grouped, not by age, but by attainments, or standards. Children under six were not to be examined. One-third of the Government grant was to be paid for attendance only, and the remaining two-thirds on examination. The subject was discussed at great length in the House of Commons, but not in an intelligent way. Mr. Lowe, sustained by the able Secretary to the Department, then Mr. Ralph Lingen, insisted that reading, writing, and arithmetic were "the most necessary part of what children come to learn." They are so, if there can be degrees of necessity. But they are a part, not the whole, and the worst mistake of the Code was that it tended to make the teaching mechanical. Mr. Lowe's professed object was to abolish bounties and establish free trade. But the analogy is a false one. Education is not an object of universal desire, and needs artificial stimulus, which trade does not. "No serious and well-informed student of education, judging freely and without bias, will approve the Revised Code." These were the words of Matthew Arnold, who had been for more than ten years an Inspector of Schools. They represented also the opinion of Sir James Shuttleworth, who framed the Code of 1846, a veteran educationalist, and perhaps the greatest living authority on the subject. But the Cabinet and the House of Commons did not really care about the matter. They were quite satisfied with a system under which the bulk of the children grew up in entire ignorance, and never went to school at all. It was hoped that the schools would soon become self-supporting, and might be left to themselves. Religion might be in danger if too much arithmetic were taught at the expense of the State. To guard against this and other perilous possibilities

1861. Modification of the Code.

1862.

May 5.

1862. it was agreed that the Code should in future lie upon the tables of both Houses a month before it came into operation.

The cotton famine.

Although England was not directly concerned in the civil war which desolated the North American Continent, the immediate consequences of the struggle fell with extreme severity upon the working classes in Lancashire. The blockade of the Southern ports by the Federal Navy was represented by sympathisers with the South as ineffective, and therefore not entitled to recognition by neutral Powers. As a matter of fact, it was so rigorous that the supply of cotton from the Slave States to the British market entirely ceased. Thousands were thus deprived of the staple article upon which they worked, and were thrown out of employment for an indefinite period. The behaviour of these Lancashire operatives, under the pressure of a terrible and unexpected calamity, was the admiration of the world. The distress of that great manufacturing county, dire as it was, produced no crime, no professional pauperism, no importunate complaints. There was not even any feeling of resentment against the Federal authorities, who maintained the blockade. While London society, and the bulk of the middle classes, were warm partisans of the Southern planters and slave-owners, insomuch that men and women of rank and fashion treated Mr. Adams, the American Minister, with habitual rudeness, which he was too well bred openly to resent, it was impossible to get up a meeting of workmen in favour of the South. Only less admirable than the patience and fortitude of the sufferers were the generosity and public spirit of their employers. One manufacturer, who was taxed with meanness because his name did not appear on the list of subscriptions to the Relief Committee, paid the whole of his

workmen their full wages from the beginning of the cotton famine to its end. There were not many rich enough to do that. But the comfortable classes in the county, with Lord Derby as the most distinguished man among them at their head, came with true liberality to the support of those whose regular means of subsistence had disappeared. Nothing in Lord Derby's life became him better than his conduct on this occasion. He not only gave large sums of money, putting down his name for five thousand pounds at one meeting, but as Chairman of the Central Relief Committee in succession to Lord Ellesmere devoted his time and his great capacity for affairs to the administration of the funds. 1862 was the worst year of the famine. After that, though the American ports remained closed, supplies began to come in from India. At the end of 1862 there were half a million persons on the lists for relief, while the weekly loss of wages exceeded a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. All classes and all parties in Lancashire laid aside their social and political differences to work heart and soul for the relief of suffering and distress. Nobody knows Lancashire who has not grasped the facts of the cotton famine. Nobody knows Lord Derby who is ignorant of the part he played in coping with it. Lord Derby was not a philanthropist, nor a humanitarian. He was a stiff and haughty aristocrat, a survival from a bygone age. But if he had a sense of his position, and of what was due to it, he had also a sense of what was due from him. Of the fine French saying that nobility constitutes obligation there is no better example than Lord Derby set in 1862. It was private effort that solved the problem. There was not much that Parliament could do. Towards the end of July, when distress was becoming grievously acute, Mr. Villiers, as

1862.

Lord Derby

1862. The rate in aid.

President of the Poor Law Board, introduced a Bill to provide a rate in aid from the richer to the poorer parishes and unions. At the suggestion of Mr. Cobden the right of raising money by loan was also given to the Boards of Guardians. The condition both of the contribution and of the loan was that the ordinary rate, in the parish, or the union, as the case might be, should exceed three shillings in the pound. On the 1st of March 1863 these extraordinary powers were to lapse. A more modest proposal to meet so deplorable a calamity was never made in any Legislative Assembly. But Lord Derby, whose opinion justly carried the greatest weight, was quite as emphatic against a Parliamentary grant as any Minister of the Crown.

Economy: Palmerston and Gladstone.

The war in North America had thus a close and obvious connection with British finance. The Chancellor of the Exchequer was resolutely bent on cutting down expenses, and complained in a public speech at Manchester that the country had forced the government to undertake needless enterprises. The reference was to Palmerston's fortifications, and the Prime Minister at once responded to the challenge. In a private, and exceedingly frank letter, published by Mr. Ashley,[1] he replied first that the Government had proposed these additions to the national defence without any pressure from without, and, secondly, that if the people had made such a demand they would have been perfectly right. These Ministerial dissensions were not of course revealed at the time, and Mr. Gladstone introduced his Budget as the organ of a united Cabinet. Compared with his financial statements of the two previous years it was tame enough. The revenue and expenditure almost exactly balanced each other at seventy

April 8, the Budget.

[1] *Life of Palmerston*, vol. ii. pp. 222–225.

millions, the surplus being so low as a hundred and fifty thousand pounds. It was impossible to remit taxation, and Mr. Gladstone was even attacked for not imposing fresh taxes. But, as he pointed out, the year was exceptional, and the increased trade with France, due to the Commercial Treaty, was balanced by the total stoppage of trade with the Southern ports of the American Union. It is a curious and most interesting fact that in this budget speech of 1862 Mr. Gladstone, who proved himself far wiser than his critics, pleaded in his own defence that he had not been guilty of lightening the burden upon the public to the extent alleged against him. But for the benefit of those who held that he was dangerously narrowing the basis of taxation he quoted the famous passage from Sydney Smith, written forty years before, and describing how everything was then taxed, from the nails in the coffin to the ribands of the bride. Some financial changes were, however, made in 1862, though they did not seriously affect the balance of taxation. The duties on wine were remodelled so as to weigh more heavily upon the stronger, and less heavily upon the lighter sorts. The hop duty, at which the Kentish farmers continually grumbled, was abolished, and there was substituted a higher scale of licenses for brewers. Mr. Gladstone was always for a "free mash-tub," or, in other words, for giving the brewer perfect liberty to select his own materials. While earnestly exhorting the House of Commons to a vigilant economy in the public service, he was able to show a substantial decrease of expenditure. Palmerston did not have everything his own way. The battle between the First Lord of the Treasury and the Chancellor of the Exchequer was a drawn one. Mr. Disraeli's criticism of Mr. Gladstone's speech is more interesting than the speech itself, and might have been

1862

Repeal of the hop duty.

1862. Disraeli's plea for economy.

"Bloated armaments."

delivered by Cobden. "Expenditure," said the Conservative Leader with equal truth and point, "depends upon policy." In another phrase which stuck he denounced "bloated armaments," and he suggested an agreement with France in the sense, almost in the language, of Cobden's Memorandum.

The Budget passed without difficulty after another growl from the Lords at the loss of their right to consider every tax upon its merits. But the general subject of national expenditure very nearly led to the defeat of the Government in the month of June. Mr. Stansfeld, who was at that time regarded as a revolutionary Radical, had given notice of a motion for the 3rd of June, to the effect that expenditure might be reduced without compromising the safety, the independence, or the legitimate influence of the country. The Conservatives, while unwilling to vote for Mr. Stansfeld's motion, were still in favour of retrenchment, and on their behalf Mr. Walpole proposed an amendment which substituted the expression of a hope for the declaration of an opinion. A union of Tories with Radicals would of course have been fatal to the Government, but Palmerston met the danger in a fashion at once bold and astute. A few days before the debate he announced that he should treat Mr. Walpole's amendment as a vote of no confidence, and proposed one of his own instead, which expressed satisfaction at the savings already made, and trust that they would be continued. Mr. Stansfeld's motion having been rejected by more than five to one, Lord Palmerston's amendment became the substantive resolution, and Mr. Walpole's turn was come. But neither Mr. Walpole's merits nor his failings fitted him to take advantage of such an emergency. He was conscientiously patriotic, and constitutionally

Palmerston's spirit.

Retreat of the Tories.

timid. Although at a meeting held the previous day in Lord Derby's house it had been agreed that the whole party should support his amendment, he would not run the risk of turning out the Government, and declined to move. Mr. Disraeli, having sarcastically congratulated him on the success of his masterly tactics, suggested that they should all go home to bed, and Lord Palmerston's amendment was adopted without a division. Lord Derby was probably not sorry for the turn of events which so highly exasperated Mr. Disraeli. He did not want office, as Disraeli did. But even if he had desired it as much as he shrank from it, he would almost certainly have failed. Many Radicals, including Mr. Stansfeld, were unwilling to coalesce with the Tories. Stansfeld's speech contained an irrelevant passage about English sympathy with Italian independence, on which Palmerston did not fail to congratulate him, pointing out at the same time that influence in the counsels of Europe required material strength. Indeed so Ministerial was Stansfeld's tone that Cobden read him a lecture, warning him that he could not get anything done in Parliament unless he were willing to accept help from the other side. But even if Mr. Walpole had obtained enough Radical support to carry his amendment, Lord Palmerston would not have resigned. He would have dissolved, and asked the constituencies whether they wished the country to be left defenceless. The result would have been, as in 1857, a large increase of his majority. 1862.

The attention of Parliament and of the country in 1862 was directed more eagerly and continuously to the civil war on the American continent than to social or political circumstances at home. The most important addition to the Statute Book during the year was the Land Transfer Act, introduced The legislation of the year. Land transfer.

1862. by Lord Chancellor Westbury, which provided for a voluntary registration of title to land, thus promoting economy by the avoidance of lawyers' bills. But three other measures, two of which passed into law, require a few words of notice. The first part of the Thames Embankment, the section which extends from Westminster to Blackfriars, was authorised by Parliament in 1862. The necessary funds were derived not from general taxation, but from the duties then levied by the City of London on imported coal. Statutory powers were, however, required for the compulsory sale of the land, and over this question a serious dispute arose. The Duke of Buccleuch, and other lessees of the Crown, induced a Select Committee of the House of Commons, or at all events the Committee was induced, to depart from the original plan of the Bill, and to deviate from the line of the river. That the Committee acted on public grounds is probable, and the suggestions of corrupt motive were baseless. But the House of Commons, most wisely and properly, reversed the decision of the Committee by restoring the Bill to its original shape; the Lords did not touch it, and it passed as it was brought in. Although it was a Government Bill, introduced by Mr. Cowper, Chief Commissioner of Works and the Prime Minister's stepson, Lord Palmerston was weak and undecided in dealing with a selfish and interested opposition. The public rights were protected and vindicated by the corporate and independent spirit of the House of Commons. Mr. Cowper was less fortunate with his Bill for transferring the Courts of Law from Westminster Hall and Lincoln's Inn to the site in the Strand which they now occupy. This Bill was opposed by Mr. Selwyn, afterwards Lord Justice, on behalf of the Equity Bar, and rejected by a majority of two.

The Thames Embankment.

The Law Courts.

A much more surprising instance of Ministerial weakness in all matters which did not involve the fate of the Government was the Bill for the better prevention of poaching. The minds of English landlords had been much disturbed by the increase of poaching, and especially of attacks upon gamekeepers at night. They could get no comfort from the Home Secretary, who bluntly told them that there was too much game in the country, and even suggested, as they understood him, that poaching should be rather encouraged than otherwise. So they resolved to act for themselves, and a Bill was presented to the House of Lords by Lord Berners which put new powers in the hands of the police for searching persons or premises suspected of concealing game, lurchers, and guns. The law of England has never recognised property in live game, unless enclosed in coops or pens. But special statutes had made trespass in pursuit of game a misdemeanour, and poaching by night in gangs was punished with extreme severity. This particular offence, however, was taken out of the hands of game-preserving magistrates and could only be tried at the assizes before a judge. The gravest feature of Lord Berners's Bill, which underwent many alterations in both Houses, was that for the first time it directly employed the police to administer the Game Laws. It was not otherwise a very stringent measure, for though it gave the right of searching carts, and even pockets, the highest penalty for which it provided was a fine of five pounds. But the danger of treating the police as gamekeepers was strongly urged by the best class of magistrates, such as Mr. Henley on one side of the House, and his namesake, Lord Henley, on the other. Although Lord Palmerston would not oppose the Bill, Sir George Grey and Mr. Glad-

1862.

The Poaching Bill.

1862. stone resisted, and even obstructed it. Notwithstanding all their efforts, however, it passed, and for a long time gave a powerful stimulus to the agitation against the Game Laws.

The second great Exhibition.

The second International Exhibition was opened in South Kensington on the 1st of May. But though, in consequence of judicious reforms in the tariff, for which Mr. Gladstone was responsible, the supply of manufactured goods was more abundant and more interesting than in 1851, the death of the Prince, and the consequent absence of the Queen, robbed the opening ceremony of all its splendour.[1]

Early in 1862 the Viceroyalty of Lord Canning came to an end, and he was succeeded by Lord Elgin. "You are not an old man," said Lord Ellenborough to the new Viceroy, "but you will find yourself one of the oldest men in India." Lord Canning was only fifty, and might well have looked forward to a long career of public usefulness at home. But the Mutiny had worn him out, and

Death of Lord Canning.

on the 17th of June, two months after his return, he died. No man, not even Lord Dalhousie, had more thoroughly done his work before he was called away, and he enjoyed the satisfaction of handing over his office to one who had been a true friend in time of need.

But neither India nor any British Colony excited half so much interest at that time as the great and terrible struggle which rent the North American Republic asunder. The general opinion in England among those who were not acquainted with the numbers, resources, and determination of the North was that the Southern States must, sooner or later, establish their independence. But although the fortunes of the war varied, and the Southern States

[1] For the first time in Queen Victoria's reign, the Parliament of 1862 was opened by Commission. In 1863, 1864, and 1865 the same course was followed.

had brilliant leaders, there was never any solid ground for this expectation. The technical interest of the war to sailors was suddenly enhanced on the 8th of March by the naval engagement at Hampton Roads, James River. The Confederates had captured a Federal ship called the *Merrimac*, and plated her with iron. The *Merrimac*, rechristened by her new masters the *Virginia*, sank one wooden man-of-war, burnt another, and drove a third ashore, without being hindered in any way by the Federal batteries. Next day the *Virginia* encountered a Federal turret-ship, the *Monitor*, which disabled her, and she had to retire. The immediate result of this engagement was trifling. But it disrated the navies of the world, and wooden ships-of-war became so much lumber. One of their last exploits was the capture of New Orleans on the 24th of April by Admiral Farragut, who expressed his dislike of iron vessels in the famous declaration that he would never go to hell in a tea-kettle. The fall of this rich and strongly-defended city was a serious blow to the Confederate cause, but it indirectly damaged the cause of the Union. New Orleans was put under General Benjamin Butler, a lawyer turned soldier, and a man devoid of taste or sentiment. Finding that his men were constantly molested and insulted by the female population, whose husbands, fathers, and brothers had taken to the field, he issued an order that any lady showing disrespect to the Federal uniform should be treated as a woman of the town. The success of this edict was immediate, and it was never once enforced. But its promulgation aroused extreme disgust, and Lord Palmerston in the House of Commons described it as infamous. The victories of "Stonewall" Jackson over M'Lellan and Banks during the month of June again threatened Washington, which was at that time in more danger

1862.

The *Merrimac* and the *Monitor*.

Capture of New Orleans.

General Butler's Proclamation.

1862.

than Richmond. The sincerity of the Federal Government in putting down slavery by all lawful means was shown by their proposal of a Treaty with Great Britain, signed on the 7th of April, and ratified on the 20th of May, for the suppression of the African Slave Trade. The contracting parties agreed that each should have the right to search the vessels of the other on a reasonable suspicion of their containing slaves. Still Lincoln would not declare against slavery in the Southern States, and when General Hunter proclaimed its abolition in Georgia, Florida, and South Carolina, he cancelled the order. No one, he said, except himself, should alter the Constitution, even in time of war. To Horace Greeley, of the *New York Tribune*, in a letter dated the 22nd of August, Lincoln was unusually explicit, even for him. "My paramount object," he wrote, "is to save the Union, and not either to save or destroy slavery. If I could save the Union without freeing any slave I would do it, and if I could save it by freeing all the slaves, I would do it; and if I could do it by freeing some and leaving others alone, I would do also that." But the best and wisest of men are not at all times masters of their fate. Lincoln resisted as long as he decently could the pressure of the Abolitionists. He waited for victory, and would not appear to be following in defeat the counsels of despair. When, however, General M'Lellan had driven the rebels out of Maryland, he felt that the time had come, and issued a Proclamation declaring that from the 1st of January 1863 all slaves in rebel States should be for ever free. This Proclamation was most unjustly and ungenerously criticised by Lord Russell, who complained that it did not free the slaves in the Northern States, where no such process was required, inasmuch as they would have no masters who could

The Anglo-American Slave Treaty.

Lincoln's declaration of policy.

Sept. 23, his Proclamation against slavery.

reclaim them. From that time, whatever Lord Russell might say, the war was simply one for human freedom against the perpetual servitude of men and women. The House of Commons, where Mr. Disraeli acted a consistent and patriotic part, refused to address the Crown in favour of mediation, which would have been regarded at Washington, though not at Richmond, as a hostile act, and was persuaded by the Solicitor-General, Sir Roundell Palmer, in a speech which for the first time revealed the full scope of his Parliamentary capacity, not to protest against a recognition of the blockade, because it was sometimes evaded. 1862.

Unfortunately for the future relations of the two great Anglo-Saxon races, it was not only blockade-runners who evaded the law. Ships were built by British firms, and despatched from British ports, for the purpose of preying upon Federal merchantmen. The Government were not guilty, as was afterwards alleged, of habitual negligence, or of sympathetic connivance at these breaches of neutrality. They honestly did their best to carry out the Foreign Enlistment Act in the spirit, as well as in the letter. This Act, passed in 1819, prohibited the construction and equipment in British harbours of vessels for the use of belligerents in a war where Great Britain was neutral. There was a dispute about the meaning of the most important section, and in the case of the *Alexandra* the Court of Exchequer was equally divided upon the question whether the ship must have been armed as well as built before she could be seized.[1] The Law Officers of the Crown, however, acted upon the broader and more sensible construction,

Breaches of neutrality

The case of the *Alexandra*.

[1] The Crown appealed to the Exchequer Chamber and the House of Lords. But both these tribunals decided by a majority that they had no jurisdiction to hear the appeal. For this miscarriage of justice Chief Baron Pollock, who tried the case, and charged the jury, was responsible.

1862.

The *Florida*.

and several vessels were stopped in accordance with their opinion. Others, such as the *Florida* of Liverpool, contrived to get away without exciting any suspicion of the object for which they were designed, though it is probably true that a stricter vigilance would have detained them. In one doubtful instance, where no legal evidence could be had, Lord Russell requested the Duke of Somerset to buy the ships for the British Navy, or sell them to the Sultan if he did not want them. In one case, and in one only, there was gross and culpable negligence on the part of the Foreign Office, which cost this country dear. On the 23rd of June Mr. Adams warned Lord Russell that the *Alabama*, a steamer then in course of construction at Birkenhead, was intended for use as a Confederate privateer. The builders were Messrs. Laird, and the senior partner in the firm was the member of Parliament for the borough. But, notorious as the circumstances were, Lord Russell took no notice of Mr. Adams's communication, and the Commissioners of Customs, who had been similarly warned, were equally inactive. A month later, on the 24th of July, the Foreign Secretary received from the American Minister a still more urgent warning. This time Mr. Adams enclosed a legal opinion from Mr. Collier[1] to the effect that there was ample evidence to justify, and to require, the detention of the *Alabama*. For some reason, which has never been satisfactorily explained, Lord Russell did not receive this letter till the 26th of July, which was a Saturday. He should at once have acted on his responsibility, for he knew that Mr. Collier was a leading member of the Inner Bar. But he merely forwarded the documents to the Law Officers, with disastrous results. The Senior Law Officer at that time was not the

The *Alabama*.

[1] Afterwards Lord Monkswell.

Attorney-General, but the Queen's Advocate, who held a permanent post, and did not belong to the Government of the day. By one of the most singular coincidences in English history, the Queen's Advocate, Sir John Harding, was out of his mind, and the fact was unknown to the Foreign Office. This caused further delay, and it was not till Monday the 28th that the papers were at last submitted to Atherton and Palmer, the Attorney and Solicitor-General. They came at once to the conclusion that Collier was right, and that the *Alabama* must be stopped. But it was too late to stop the *Alabama*. She had sailed that afternoon. Then Lord Russell began to perceive what an enormous blunder he had made. He proposed in Cabinet that orders should be sent by telegraph to seize the *Alabama* in any British port at which she might touch. But none of his colleagues supported him, except the Duke of Argyll, and the project fell through.[1] The *Alabama* steamed to Terceira, where she took on board Captain Semmes, of the Confederate service, with arms and ammunition. For the next two years she was the terror of the Northern merchantmen, and what made matters infinitely worse, her crew was principally British. At the close of the year Lord Russell peremptorily refused the demand of the United States for compensation.

1862.

Sir John Harding's incapacity.

The *Alabama's* escape.

The relations between London and Washington were growing more and more unfriendly. Although Lord Palmerston had deprecated intervention in the House of Commons, he was more than half inclined to it himself, and in the course of September he suggested it to Lord Russell, who entirely concurred with him. But Lord Granville, to his lasting honour, earnestly protested against such a reckless policy, and at a Cabinet, held on the 23rd of October, where he was supported by the Duke of Newcastle

Proposals for intervention.

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 355.

1862. and Sir George Grey, the idea was abandoned. It was, however, speedily renewed from a quarter

The French Emperor. where mischief was always brewing. The French Emperor, then endeavouring, without much success, to upset a Republic in Central America, conceived that the disruption of a Republic in North America would be part of an artistic whole. He therefore

Oct. 30. instructed M. Drouyn de Lhuys to propose in London and at Petersburg that an armistice for six months should be pressed upon the combatants. In both capitals he failed. The Russian Government was friendly to the North, as the United States long afterwards gratefully remembered, and

Decision of the Cabinet. Lord Russell, though with obvious reluctance, declined to adopt a proposal which there was no reason to believe that President Lincoln would accept. Lord Russell's behaviour to the American Union at the greatest crisis in its history was haughty and unsympathetic, if not positively hostile. Lord Palmerston's was no better. Mr. Gladstone's was worse still. The Prime Minister and the Foreign Secretary carped and cavilled at the efforts of the North. The Chancellor of the Exchequer anticipated with confidence and sympathy the success of the South. The love of liberty which inspired Mr. Gladstone's Italian policy was never displayed to more advantage than in his eloquent

April 11. and conclusive reply to Sir George Bowyer's indictment of the Italian nation this very spring. But the principles which he applied to Italy he could not, for some curious reason, apply to the United

Gladstone's speech at Newcastle. States.[1] Speaking at a public dinner in Newcastle on the 7th of October, he said that Jefferson Davis had made an army, had made a navy, and, what was

[1] The simplest explanation is that Mr. Gladstone thoroughly understood the Italian question and only half understood the American one. He was under the delusion that the "state rights" of the South had been infringed.

more, had made a nation. Nothing could have been more mischievous than such words at such a moment from such a man. They inspired the South with hope of intervention and almost led Mr. Adams to leave the country. They were intensely irritating to men of English blood who were risking their lives for the Union and freedom against secession and slavery. For even before Lincoln's Proclamation it had become clear that that, and no other, was the issue. Congress had abolished slavery in the District of Columbia, of which Washington is the capital, before the end of April, and in the Territories before the end of June. State rights had always been admitted by Lincoln. What the South and its puppet chief demanded was the establishment of a Slave Power with a President and a majority in Congress favourable to their views. It is not necessary in these days to argue against slavery. But from the careful narrative of Mr. Goldwin Smith[1] a few facts may be given to show what sort of a nation, if any, Jefferson Davis would have founded: "Not only was the plantation slave overworked and tortured with the lash, he was sometimes murdered, and with impunity, as negro evidence was not admitted against the whites. . . . Most revolting, if not most cruel of all, were the auction, at which husband and wife, parent and child, were sold apart, the sight of droves of human cattle on their way to it, and the advertisements of human flesh, especially of girls nearly white. . . . The temper of the boys was spoiled and their minds were tainted by familiarity with slaves. With slavery always goes lust. The number of half-breeds was large. White fathers might even sell their half-breed children as slaves, and a Southern lady was heard to complain that she was but the head of a harem."[2] It was to prop up that accursed system,

1862.

Slavery in the Southern States.

[1] *The United States: An Outline of Political History.* [2] Pp. 222–224.

1862. the true nature of which they did not realise, that English gentlemen on both sides of politics, though not of all classes in the community, urged the recognition of the South, and put money into the Confederate Loan. Might was for once on the side of right, and their efforts were futile. But these efforts were long remembered by the North, and they rankled in the minds of the best Americans more than all the depredations of the *Alabama*. The philosophical observers who, looking calmly back upon the passionate struggles of these years, pronounce judicially that both Northerners and Southerners were right from their respective points of view will not find much support from Lincoln's private meditations, first printed by his official biographers. "In great party contests," wrote the President, "each party claims to act in accordance with the will of God. Both may be, and one *must* be wrong."[1]

Garotting. The summer and autumn of 1862 were marked in London by a series of brutal and savage robberies from the person, which, as the victims were often more than half strangled, went by the generic name of garotting. These outrages spread terror throughout the capital, and the panic reached its height when a member of Parliament was garotted in Waterloo Place on his way from the House of Commons to the Reform Club. It was determined to make an example of such offenders as the police could catch, and they were all committed to the November Sessions of the Central Criminal Court. The judge who tried them was Baron Bramwell, a rough, coarse, able man, as kindly in disposition as he was cynical in speech, but gifted with the power of engendering in the criminal classes a spirit of wholesome fear. He conducted the trials with a fairness honourably characteristic

[1] Nicolay and Hay, *Life of Lincoln*, vol. vi. p. 342.

of British law, warning the jury to examine the evidence with peculiar care, lest the prevalent feeling of indignation should make them unjust to individuals. Those prisoners who were convicted, over a score in number, he sentenced on the same day to various terms of penal servitude, which were certainly not in excess of their deserts. The effect of these most thoroughly merited punishments was salutary and immediate. The epidemic of garotting ceased, and by the end of the year crimes of violence in the metropolis had fallen to their ordinary level. But a spirit of resentment had been aroused which required some special vent. It was loudly asserted that convicts in penal servitude were far too comfortable, and an absurdly exaggerated picture of their luxuries was contrasted with the miseries of the honest poor. The Government, urged to take the matter up, replied that they had confidence in the ordinary law. Then there arose an outcry for the lash, and the Opposition stepped in where the Government feared to tread. On the 24th of February 1863 a Bill was brought into the House of Commons by Mr. Adderley[1] and Sir Stafford Northcote, which empowered judges to punish the crime of robbery with violence by one, two, or three floggings, not to exceed fifty lashes, besides imprisonment. The Government opposed the Bill, and Sir George Grey used the unfortunate argument that some of the culprits would be too weak for corporal chastisement. It was easy to raise a laugh at the "ferocious valetudinarians" for whose health the Home Secretary was so much concerned. The real case against the Bill was that its objects had already been achieved. It passed by large majorities in the Commons, and without a division in the Lords, despite an earnest protest from Lord Cran-

1862.

Baron Bramwell's sentences, Nov. 28.

1863.

The Flogging Bill.

[1] Afterwards Lord Norton.

1863. worth, whose judicial experience was greater than any other peer's. For many years the Act was rigorously enforced, after which it gradually fell into almost complete disuse. It may be conjecturally argued that without the Flogging Bill garotting would have revived. That the crime was suppressed before the Bill came into existence is a simple historical fact.

It illustrates the political apathy into which Parliament and the public had alike fallen that the Queen's Speech for 1863 does not contain the mention of a single specific Bill. Indeed, so far as the Government were concerned, the Legislature may be said to have met for the purpose of congratulating the Prince of Wales on his approaching marriage, and of providing him with an allowance fixed at forty thousand a-year, and ten thousand for the Princess, besides the sixty thousand to which he was entitled from the Duchy of Cornwall. The money was cheerfully granted, for the marriage was thoroughly popular. Connected with the homeliest and most modest Court in Europe,[1] the Princess Alexandra, "sea-king's daughter from over the sea," dazzled and delighted every eye with the radiant charm of her youth and beauty. The wedding was solemnised by Archbishop Longley at St. George's, Windsor, on the 10th of March. Some weeks earlier, on the 5th of February, when Parliament opened, His Royal Highness, having attained his majority, took his seat for the first time in the House of Lords as Duke of Cornwall. He never joined in political debates, but he always voted for the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill.

Marriage of the Prince of Wales.

Reference was also made in the Speech from the Throne to the revolution in Greece, and to the fate of the Ionian Islands. Palmerston's old enemy

The Ionian Islands.

[1] Her father, Prince Christian of Glücksburg, succeeded to the throne of Denmark in the following November.

Otho had been forced to abdicate the previous autumn, and the Crown had been offered by popular vote to the Queen's second son, Prince Alfred. The Greeks ought to have been told that the acceptance of the Crown by an English Prince would have been a breach of the treaty between Great Britain, France, and Russia, by which the Greek kingdom was founded. Prince Alfred, of course, refused it, or rather the Government refused it for him. The Greeks, bent on an English sovereign, then offered it to Lord Stanley, the last man in the world who would have cared for the trappings of royalty, and Mr. Gladstone's name was also mentioned, to his own great amusement. Finally Prince George of Denmark was proclaimed King of Greece, and his reign, if not a prosperous, was at least a long one. It was further announced, in connection with this subject, that if the inhabitants of the Ionian Islands desired to be incorporated with Greece, England would offer no objection. Since Mr. Gladstone's mission there had never been any doubt about the wishes of the islanders, and it was a wise policy to let them have their way. The seven islands were no part of the British Empire, but an independent republic under British protection. Corfu was of no strategic value to the possessors of Malta, and the post of High Commissioner was one of great embarrassment. Under Greece the islands have been perfectly contented, and have neither given trouble nor suffered from it.

1863. March 30.

Although the Prime Minister and the Chancellor of the Exchequer were often at loggerheads, it was observed that when Lord Palmerston addressed his constituents in the autumn the principal subject of his discourse was Mr. Gladstone's Budget. The Budget was certainly the chief event in the session of 1863. Trade with the United States had suffered severely on account of the war,

The Budget.

1863. and the cotton famine in Lancashire, though the worst was over, still caused much distress. But under the Commercial Treaty British exports to France had more than doubled, and far more than made up for American losses. By the success of the treaty, whose effect was now first fully seen, and by striking a million off the estimates of both the great spending departments, Mr. Gladstone could show a surplus of £3,741,000. With this he reduced the income tax from ninepence to sevenpence, and the duty on tea from seventeen pence to a shilling in the pound. The prophets of evil were put to silence, and the triumph of Gladstonian finance was complete. The Conservatives no longer opposed the reduction of taxes. They took a wiser course, and claimed the diminution of the tea duty as their own policy, on the ground that they had run it against the repeal of the paper duty in 1861. But while on the main features of his Budget Gladstone carried every one with him, he made a collateral proposal which nearly brought his house in Downing Street about his ears. He attempted to abolish the exemption from income tax of charitable endowments and corporate trusts. The storm he aroused was prodigious, and on the 4th of May there arrived at his official residence a deputation the like of which had never been seen there before. It was headed by His Royal Highness the Duke of Cambridge. Both the Archbishops came with it, and the Bishop of London, and other bishops, and a horde of charitable trustees. To them the Chancellor of the Exchequer said very little. But that same night, to an unsympathetic audience in the House of Commons, he made the greatest of all his argumentative speeches. As a piece of abstract reasoning, this speech on the taxation of charities has never in any

The taxation of charities.

popular assembly been surpassed.[1] An exemption from taxation, said Mr. Gladstone, is a grant of public money. It is given at the expense of the tax-payers, who have in consequence to pay more. Parliament had no moral right to endow with public money institutions over which there was no public control. What was real charity? The money which a man gave away in his lifetime, when it was in his power to keep it for himself. Every farthing of that money was assessed to income tax. Exemption was given to the sums which he left away from his family, perhaps to spite them, when he had no longer any use for this world's goods. Many of these charitable endowments had been condemned by the Charity Commissioners as utterly demoralising and corrupt. Taking the best of all charities, the hospitals, he pointed out that while those which had wealthy endowments were exempt, those which were dependent upon voluntary contributions were taxed to the uttermost farthing. If the world were governed by pure reason, the opposition would have collapsed. But the world is governed by sentiment and impulse. Mr. Disraeli and other Conservatives attacked the cruel Chancellor of the Exchequer who wanted to curtail the comforts of patients in hospitals and paupers in almhouses. Not a single Liberal supported the proposal, and it was withdrawn. It is strange that in this speech of all others Mr. Gladstone should have had to commemorate Sir George Cornewall Lewis, who had died during the Easter recess. For, as he said, not one of his colleagues would have more staunchly supported him in his unpopular proposal than that precisest of reasoners and most logical of men. A born student and philosopher, a man

1868.

Death of Cornewall Lewis.

[1] *La grandeur de Berryer avec la souplesse de Thiers* was the judgment of a French critic.

1863. of letters and learning, he died by a singular fortune Secretary of State for War. He was succeeded by his Under-Secretary, Lord De Grey, formerly known as Lord Goderich, subsequently as Lord Ripon, the most advanced Liberal in Lord Palmerston's Cabinet. Lord De Grey's place was taken by Lord Hartington, and Mr. Stansfeld, a Radical of the Continental rather than the English type, became a junior Lord of the Admiralty. The Nestor of the Whigs, Henry Marquess of Lansdowne, had passed quietly away at the beginning of the year.

Meagre and minute as was the legislation of 1863, it was not wholly worthless. Sir George Grey's Bill to provide for the appointment of Roman Catholic chaplains in prisons was opposed by a few extreme Protestant bigots, but passed with the approval and assistance of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli. Lord Chancellor Westbury, though not usually credited with much zeal for the Church, carried a useful measure for the augmentation of poor benefices by selling some three hundred of the smallest advowsons in his gift to the landowners of their respective neighbourhoods. The Chancellor was also successful with his Statute Law Revision Bill, which began through commissioners the work of weeding out obsolete Acts that were inconsistent with subsequent statutes, or had been deprived of all meaning by time. The Burials Bill of Sir Morton Peto was the beginning of a struggle between Church and Dissent which lasted for nearly twenty years. Nonconformists had from time immemorial a right to be buried in the parish churchyard, at least if they had been baptized. But that right was subject to the condition that the burial service of the Church of England should be read over their remains by a clergyman of that church. It was the object of

The Prison Chaplains Bill.

The augmentation of small benefices.

Statute Law Revision.

The Burials Bill.

Sir Morton Peto's Bill to relieve them and their relatives from this alien rite, and to let them be interred with their own religious observances. Although the Bill was supported not merely by the Home Secretary, but even by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and Member for the University of Oxford, it was rejected by an overwhelming majority. Not less surprising than Mr. Gladstone's support of it was the opposition of Sir John Trelawny, the author of the Bill for the removal of Church Rates. Sir John's argument, however, was perfectly logical. If, he said, Dissenters were allowed to use the churchyards for their own purposes, their case against church rates would be weakened, and then what would become of his Bill? 1863.

The House of Commons in 1863 was at the height of its independence, and cared very little whether the Government supported a proposal or not. Even a combination of leaders on both sides could not always carry the House, as was proved in the case of the Exhibition buildings at South Kensington. The Government proposed, on behalf of the nation, to purchase both the site, and the building itself, a singularly ugly one. The money for the site was readily granted. But an obstinate resistance was made to buying the structure, both by men of taste, who disliked it, and by men of business, who thought it a bad bargain. Mr. Gladstone irritated the Committee by holding out as a sort of threat that the contractors were not bound to remove the edifice, and Mr. Disraeli, who made the serious mistake of showing round a letter from the Queen, was absolutely hooted down. The Government were beaten by more than two to one, "Gladstone and Disraeli," says Lord Malmesbury, who hated them both, "looking equally angry." [1] The Exhibition buildings. July 2.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. pp. 299–300.

1863. During the session of 1863 the Civil War in America continued to occupy public interest, and at times to absorb it. The distress in Lancashire was indeed gradually and steadily subsiding, as larger supplies of cotton came from India, and as men were drafted off to other employments. The Rate in Aid Act was further extended, and by the advice of a distinguished engineer, Robert Rawlinson, public works of real utility were undertaken. The number of persons in receipt of relief had reached its height at the end of 1862, when it stood at half a million. By June 1863 it had fallen to a quarter of a million, and by the end of the year it was less than two hundred thousand. The cotton famine had the effect of drawing classes together, and helping them to understand each other. It illustrated also the unity of the British Empire, for subscriptions flowed in from India, from Canada, and from Australia. The Americans of the Northern States, notwithstanding the heavy pressure of their war taxation, contributed liberally, and it was not unfitting that they should. For it must always redound to the honour of the Lancashire operatives that in their dire distress they never could be induced to take, like their social superiors, the side of the South. Far from that, the working men of Manchester sent an Address of sympathy to President Lincoln. Lincoln, himself a man of the people, was profoundly touched. He knew little of England, and she had given him no cause to love her. But he understood the meaning of the Address. "Through the action of our disloyal citizens," he wrote in reply, "the working men of Europe have been subjected to a severe trial for the purpose of forcing their sanction to that attempt. Under these circumstances I cannot but regard your decisive utterances upon the question as an instance of sublime Christian heroism

The British workmen's Address to Lincoln.

Jan. 19.

which has not been surpassed in any age or in any country." Throughout the year there was only one serious disturbance of the peace in Lancashire, a bread riot at Stalybridge, and most of the rioters were Irishmen. In Parliament, while the Leaders of the Opposition gave a patriotic support to the Ministerial policy of non-interference, language was used by prominent men of both parties which did incalculable mischief. In the debate on the Address Lord Derby pronounced the restoration of the Union to be absolutely impossible, and Lord Russell declared that the subjugation of the South would be a calamity. Within a few months, the tide began to turn. Early in May, at the bloody battle of Chancellorsville, "Stonewall" Jackson, a man worthy to have fought with Cromwell's Ironsides in a better cause than slavery, was accidentally shot by his own men, and a week later he died. His loss was irreparable. No other Southern General, except Lee, could be compared with him for theoretical and practical knowledge of war. On the 30th of June Mr. Roebuck thought fit to propose in the House of Commons the recognition of the Southern Confederacy. He informed the House that the success of the South was certain, and not more certain than desirable. He hailed that inevitable result as a great blessing to mankind, and a deliverance from a tyrannical Power. A more foolish speech has seldom been made in Parliament. But the most grotesque part of it was Mr. Roebuck's announcement that he had been personally charged by the Emperor of the French to express that singular Potentate's constant desire for the disruption of the United States. Louis Napoleon had tried mediation on his own account, and had been snubbed by Lincoln for his pains. The instrument he now chose for the expression of his views was a man who five years

1863.

The turn of the tide.

Louis Napoleon and Mr. Roebuck.

1863. before had described with horror his "perjured lips" touching the "hallowed cheek" of the British Sovereign at Cherbourg. Lord Palmerston being ill, it devolved upon Mr. Gladstone to answer Mr. Roebuck, and he did so in a manner which gave just offence to the Northern States. For while deprecating intervention, and expressing his opinion that Great Britain was not interested in the dissolution of the Union, he repeated his blunder of 1862 by asserting that the maintenance of Federalism was impossible. Only Bright and Forster, keeping their eyes fixed on the real issue, disclaimed all sympathy with the establishment of a Slave Power in the heart of Western civilisation. The debate was adjourned, and great events had happened before it was resumed on the 13th of July.

July 1–3. The desperate fight at Gettysburg, where Lincoln afterwards delivered the noblest of all his speeches, was followed on Independence Day by the surrender

The fall of Vicksburg. of Vicksburg, the Confederate stronghold upon the Mississippi, to General Grant, whose name now first became prominent in the history of the war. Five days later Port Hudson fell, and the great river was exclusively under Northern control. Mr. Roebuck withdrew his motion, and Mason, the Confederate Envoy, left London in despair. Mr. Disraeli deserves the lasting gratitude of Englishmen for not pressing upon a divided Cabinet and a distracted House of Commons a policy of intervention which might for ever have alienated the two great branches of the English speaking race.

The Polish insurrection. The insurrection in Poland, which broke out during January 1863, was, from a moral point of view, completely justifiable. It was caused by a gross abuse of the conscription. The object of the Russian authorities, as described by the British ambassador, Lord Napier, was "to make a clean sweep of the revolutionary youth of Poland; to

shut up the most energetic and dangerous spirits in the restraints of the Russian army; to kidnap the Opposition and carry it off to Siberia or the Caucasus." More than two thousand young men were seized in the night and enlisted as conscripts. Lord Shaftesbury gave forcible utterance to the general feeling of horror which these events excited in England. What made matters worse was the connivance of Prussia, who allowed Russian soldiers to arrest Polish refugees upon Prussian soil. For this piece of brutality, or policy, the blame must be divided between Bismarck and the King. But while it was natural and proper that Englishmen should express their indignation at these proceedings, there was nothing practical to be done. The Polish question was settled in the eighteenth century, and no attempt to revive it has ever succeeded. Unfortunately Lord Russell thought that something could be done by writing despatches. He recurred to the Treaty of Vienna, the Treaty of 1815, which provided that Poland should have a constitution. But the Treaty of Vienna had little respect for the rights of nationalities, and, as Prince Gortschakoff triumphantly pointed out, the constitution was to be such as met with the approval of the Russian Government. In the course of a long diplomatic correspondence, which came nowhence and led nowhither, Lord Russell suggested an amnesty, a form of national representation, a Polish Executive, guarantee for liberty of conscience, and the official use of the Polish language. He proposed also a Conference of the Signatory Powers to the Treaty of Vienna. Gortschakoff declined the Conference, and politely argued that whatever was good in the policy sketched by Lord Russell had already been adopted by the Czar. In plain words, Lord Russell was requested to mind his own business, and that

1863.

The policy of Prussia.

Lord Russell's despatches.

June 13.

July 1.

1863. though he professed to be supported by France and Austria.[1] Proposed motions of censure in Parliament came to nothing. Parliament had not thanked the Czar for the emancipation of the serfs in 1862. Lord Russell's conduct on this occasion was not unjustly described by Lord Derby as "meddle and muddle." He was better employed in objecting to the French Emperor's crude and dangerous proposal of a European Congress on things in general, which would not improbably have led to a European war. The Foreign Secretary was at this time so entirely absorbed in the business of his office that he, the strenuous reformer of the fifties, speaking at Blairgowrie in September, could only advise those who remained reformers still to "rest and be thankful."

"Meddle and muddle."

During the autumn three eminent Britons passed away, one of them prematurely on the threshold of a new career. Archbishop Whately of Dublin, who died on the 8th of November, a man of vigorous and acute mind, was better known as a statesman and economist than as a theologian. He was succeeded by Richard Chenevix Trench, Dean of Westminster, an elegant scholar, and a graceful poet. To the Deanery of Westminster Lord Palmerston nominated Arthur Stanley, an eloquent preacher, an ecclesiastical historian of high repute, a universal favourite in society, especially the society of the Court, an intrepid enemy of religious persecution, and a conspicuous leader of the Broad Church School. On the 12th of November, at a patriarchal age, died John Singleton Copley, Lord Lyndhurst, born a British subject at Massachusetts before the Declaration of Independence. Lord Lyndhurst's influence in the

Death of Archbishop Whately;

of Lord Lyndhurst;

[1] France and Austria had declined to concur in a Joint Note, and their separate remonstrances to the Czar were much milder than Lord Russell's.

House of Lords has been well described as that of "sheer intellectual supremacy." His friend and former rival, Lord Brougham, pronounced him immeasurably superior to all his contemporaries. Except Lord Brougham himself, they had all been removed. To a younger generation he seemed, not without reason, to be devoid of settled principles, and incapable of moral earnestness. Although he never cared enough for law to become a great lawyer, he was a master of the judicial style which befits the House of Lords, and the most obscure subject became, when he treated it, as clear as daylight. Those who were accustomed to hear him speak declared it was impossible not to agree with Lord Lyndhurst while he was speaking. His philosophy was Epicurean, and he succeeded in extracting from life the utmost enjoyment it can afford. The one thing about which he was strict was the discipline of his mind, and that incomparable instrument never failed him to the last. His tranquil departure left scarcely a ripple on the surface of public life, for it was seventeen years since he had finally retired from office. Very different was the case with the eighth Earl of Elgin, who died on the 20th of November at Dhurmsala, Cashmere, in the fifty-third year of his age, and the second of his Viceroyalty. Lord Elgin had served his country with brilliant success, first in Canada, afterwards in China, and great hopes, which he did not live to fulfil, were entertained of his career in India. The new Viceroy, however, was universally acknowledged to be the man best fitted for that high post. Sir John Lawrence had given his life to India. Trained under Lord Dalhousie, acting as the right hand of Canning, he had done more than any other civilian to weather the storm of the Mutiny, and to maintain the authority of British rule.

1863.

of Lord Elgin.

The new Viceroy.

1863. The Miners' Union.

The political apathy of the early sixties, though it hampered the cause of Parliamentary reform, did not prevent the gradual progress of Trade Unionism. It was in November of this year that the National Union of Miners met for the first time at Leeds, with Alexander Macdonald[1] for their chairman, and declared in favour of an Eight Hours Bill.

The Danish question.

Lord Russell had scarcely finished his meddling and muddling with the Polish question when he was confronted with a more practical and urgent problem than the revival of an extinct nationality. The Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg had been united with the Kingdom of Denmark

The Treaty of London.

in 1852 by the Treaty of London, the parties to which were England, France, Austria, Russia, Sweden, and Denmark. Lord Malmesbury was at that time Foreign Secretary. But the Treaty was founded on a Protocol, also signed in London, two years before, when Lord Palmerston was at the Foreign Office and Lord John Russell was Prime Minister, so that it expressed the views of both parties in the State. It was not a natural or a reasonable arrangement. For while the inhabitants of Schleswig were partly German and partly Danish, the population of Holstein was exclusively German. Since the fifteenth century the King of Denmark had governed the Duchies either as Duke or as King. They were connected with Denmark by the link of the Crown. The

The disputed succession.

law of succession, however, was different, as in the case of England and Hanover. For while there was no Salic law in Denmark, there was such a law in the Duchies. Since the disruption of the German Empire in 1806 these Elbe Duchies, as they were called, had been frequently at variance with Denmark, wishing to be united under a German Prince. They were far more German than

[1] Afterwards M.P. for Stafford.

Danish. Frederick the Seventh, who succeeded his father as King of Denmark in 1848, and was the reigning Sovereign in 1852, had no children. The heir-presumptive to the Danish throne was Prince Christian of Glücksburg, who claimed through the female line.[1] The heir to the Duchies, which descended through the male line only, was the Duke of Augustenburg. But by the Treaty of 1852 the succession both to Kingdom and to Duchies was secured, so far as diplomacy could secure it, for Prince Christian.[2] There was a formal reservation of certain rights over the Duchies which were alleged to reside in the German Diet, and to have been ignored by Frederick the Seventh when he came to the throne. In 1855 King Frederick granted self-government to Holstein, and incorporated Schleswig in Denmark. Against this step, so far as they were concerned in it, the German Schleswigers protested, declaring, among other things, that their compatriots at Holstein had a right to be consulted before such a constitutional change was made. The position of Holstein was anomalous, if not absurd. Its sovereign was the King of Denmark, and yet at the same time it was part of the German Confederation. The growth of German sentiment, and the desire for German unity, were inflamed and irritated by the spectacle of a German population under a Scandinavian sovereign. As the result of constant disputes, extending over many years, Frederick now issued an ordinance which severed Holstein from the rest of his dominions. His object was to free himself from the encroachments of the German Confederation, and by partly relaxing his control of Holstein to tighten

1863.

March 30.

[1] His claim had been recognised by King Frederick and by the Treaty of London.

[2] The Duke was bought out. But that did not prevent him from afterwards reviving his claims.

1863. his control of Schleswig. Popular feeling in Germany ran strongly in favour of uniting both Duchies into one, and making "Schleswig-Holstein" German. The rapid growth of this ambition did not escape the notice of the shrewd and bold diplomatist who guided the destinies of Prussia. Bismarck saw that his time was come, and he put himself at the head of the German movement, dragging after him, first his own king, and then the Emperor of Austria. He had gained over Russia by helping her against Poland, and he now put forward a Prusso-Austrian alliance as the representative of German interests. Austria and Prussia objected to the separation of Holstein from Schleswig, and brought the matter before the German Diet, which demanded on the 1st of October that the Ordinance should be withdrawn before the 27th. Otherwise Holstein would be occupied by German troops. Against this proposed occupation Lord Russell addressed to Sir Alexander Malet, the British Minister at Frankfort, an earnest remonstrance, while at the same time advising the Danish Government to withdraw the Ordinance.

Nov. 15. At this peculiarly inconvenient moment King Frederick died, and was succeeded by Prince Christian of Glücksburg, the Princess of Wales's father. The Duke of Augustenburg at once claimed the Duchies, and the States of Holstein refused to take the oath of allegiance in the name of the King. Before the death of Frederick, Lord Russell had suggested that the revenues of Holstein and Lauenburg should not be applied to the common expenses of the Danish monarchy until some general arrangement had been made.[1] He offered also the mediation of Great Britain. But Denmark, while accepting mediation, rejected the rest of the pro-

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 383.

posals, and she was encouraged by an influential portion of the English Press to believe that in any event she would have the support of this country. The first act of the new King was to accept the Constitution prepared by his predecessor with the approval of the Rigsraad, under which Schleswig would be permanently incorporated in Denmark, and Holstein permanently separated from Schleswig. This Constitution recognised and superseded the Ordinance of March. It therefore made the crisis far more acute. Lord Russell endeavoured to avert war by sending Lord Wodehouse on a special mission to Copenhagen, nominally for the purpose of congratulating the King on his accession, but really with the object of making terms between the disputants. Lord Wodehouse's efforts, however, failed, and Holstein was occupied by German troops, who received the Duke of Augustenburg as lawful ruler.

1863. The attitude of the English Press. Lord Wodehouse's mission. Dec. 22.

On the last day of the year 1863 Lord Russell proposed to the Federal Diet that a Conference of the Powers who signed the Treaty of London should be held in London or Paris, and that meanwhile there should be no interference with the existing state of things. A fortnight afterwards, on the 16th of January 1864, Austria and Prussia called upon Denmark to suppress the new Constitution within forty-eight hours. The Danish Government replied that they could not do so without the consent of the Rigsraad, which would have to be summoned. This plea was disregarded, and five days later the Prussian Marshal von Wrangel, with a mixed force of Prussians and Austrians, entered Holstein. On the 1st of February they occupied Schleswig. Great was the indignation in England. Indignation is easy. But what was to be done? Austria and Prussia had clearly violated the Treaty of London, which the

1864. The German ultimatum. The occupation of Holstein.

1864.

other signatory Powers were entitled, though it could hardly be said they were bound, to uphold. Besides England, these Powers were France, Russia, and Sweden. The Cabinet decided, Lord Palmerston and Lord Russell with reluctance, that they would not assist Denmark by force unless France were willing to take part in the campaign. If England had gone to war single-handed for the maintenance of a highly artificial Treaty which five other Powers had signed, the disproportion of means to ends would have been startling indeed. Even Lord Derby, who criticised Lord Russell's foreign policy with great severity in the debate on the Address, declared that, in his opinion, there was no sufficient reason for war. The Danes, except at sea, where they gained a small success, made scarcely any fight at all. Early in February they abandoned the great fortress called the Dannewerke, and evacuated Schleswig. On the 25th of April the Conference proposed by Lord Russell met in London, and at his suggestion hostilities were suspended from the beginning of May till the end of June. Meanwhile he sent Lord Clarendon to sound the French Emperor, whose remarks were for once both sensible and explicit. Having been already snubbed by Russia, he could not, he said, afford to risk another rebuff from the German Powers, with whom he was not prepared to go to war. France took no interest in the question, and on the principle of nationalities, in which he believed, Holstein ought to be German. The long and the short of the matter was that if Louis Napoleon went to war with Austria, it would be for Venetia, and if he went to war with Prussia, it would be for the provinces of the Rhine.[1] The Emperor was strangely blind to the rise of Prussia, and to its effect upon his own position. Lord

Decision of the Cabinet.

Lord Derby's declaration.

Conference of the Powers.

Suspension of hostilities. April 13.

Lord Clarendon in Paris.

Policy of the French Emperor.

[1] The Emperor had been seriously annoyed by Lord Russell's rejection of his proposal for a European Congress.

Palmerston, and perhaps Lord Russell, would have supported Denmark even without allies. But they had against them the majority of their colleagues, and the Queen, whose influence with a divided Cabinet could not be ignored. Palmerston, indeed, made what he characteristically called, in a letter to Lord Russell, "a notch off his own bat," and told the Austrian Ambassador, Count Apponyi, that if he remained Prime Minister, and an Austrian squadron entered the Baltic, a larger British squadron would follow it "with such orders for acting as the case might require." But of this menacing language the Cabinet did not approve, and Palmerston, though disgusted with the "weakness and timidity" of his colleagues, acquiesced without resigning.[1]

1864.

The Queen and the Cabinet.

May 1. Palmerston's impatience.

The Conference differed hopelessly on questions of boundaries, and broke up without settling anything on the 22nd of June. It was chiefly memorable for Herr von Bismarck's cynical repudiation of the Treaty of London, to which he argued that the war had put an end. According to this shameless doctrine the Danes lost the benefit of a solemn engagement to which Prussia and Austria were parties, because they resisted a Prussian and Austrian invasion of their own dominions. Bismarck was at that moment, though only at the outset of his career, the first diplomatist in Europe. Although he professed, perhaps sincerely, to be an instrument in the hands of Providence, he took no more thought than Napoleon of morality in public affairs. Liberty he detested, and he had no respect for the rights of any country except his own. Without pity, without mercy, without sentiment, without remorse, his dauntless courage, his patriotic ambition, his vast ability, and his iron will, raised him in time to a height of power not surpassed by any legitimate Monarch who ever

Failure of the Conference.

May 15.

Bismarck.

[1] Walpole's *Life of Lord John Russell*, vol. ii. p. 392.

1864.

wore a Crown. After the Conference the war was renewed, Jutland was invaded, and the result was of course a foregone conclusion. On the 1st of August the King of Denmark ceded under compulsion to Austria and Prussia all his rights in the Duchies of Schleswig, Holstein, and Lauenburg.[1]

The end of the war.

Policy of the Opposition.

The failure of the Conference in London was made the occasion for a determined attempt to turn Lord Palmerston out of office. The Leaders of the Opposition were to have simultaneously moved votes of censure in their respective Houses of Parliament. But Lord Palmerston and Lord Derby were both victims of a recurrent malady which spared neither Whigs nor Tories. This time it was Lord Derby who succumbed to the gout, and Lord Malmesbury, a most inefficient substitute, led the attack in the Lords. Lord Malmesbury, however, had one advantage over his more brilliant chief. He had not committed himself to the opinion that there was no cause for war. He moved, and carried by a majority of nine, a resolution which affirmed that the conduct of the Government had lowered the just influence of the country in the counsels of Europe. A similar motion was made by Mr. Disraeli in the House of Commons on the 4th of June, and discussed for four nights. The position was critical, and the Government was in considerable danger. Public opinion, and still more public sentiment, in the upper and middle classes of society, was overwhelmingly Danish. Two strong Powers appeared to be bullying a weak one, and British sympathy with Denmark

Votes of censure.

[1] Having thus vindicated the Duke of Augustenburg's rights, the German Powers calmly ignored them, and by the Convention of Gastein, signed on the 14th of August 1865, divided the Duchies between themselves. "The authority of force," said Lord Russell, "is the sole power which has been consulted and recognised." Austria reluctantly assented to the policy of Prussia, which was the policy of Bismarck alone.

was greatly strengthened by the unbounded popu- 1864.
larity of the Princess of Wales. But while it was easy to criticise the diplomacy of Lord Russell, and to contrast the menaces of Lord Palmerston with the inaction of the Cabinet, it was more difficult for the Conservatives to say what they would themselves have done. Lord Malmesbury's mind, to do him justice, was seldom troubled by a doubt. Mr. Disraeli was cautious and discreet. It was not for him, he said, to indicate what the policy of Ministers should have been. Enough for him that it should have been different from what it was. A Leader of Opposition may always take this line if he pleases. It is within the rules of the game. But it never inspires confidence, and rarely achieves success. "I believe now," said Mr. Disraeli, "that if the occasion were fitting, and our independence and our honour were attacked and assailed, if our Empire were endangered, England would arise in the magnificence of her might, and struggle triumphantly for those objects for which men live and nations flourish. But, sir, I for one will never consent to go to war to extricate British Ministers from the consequences of their own indiscretion." Mr. Gladstone, with prompt spirit, but with little more relevance to the facts of the case, asked whether the British House of Commons, for the sake of displacing the Government, would record the degradation of England. The Chancellor of the Exchequer, however, in defending neutrality, was at least giving utterance to his sincere convictions. The same cannot be said of the Prime Minister, who had been overruled in his own Cabinet. Lord Palmerston accordingly took refuge from that awkward topic, the aggression of the German Powers, in the achievements of his own Ministry, which he passed in rapid review. He was saved by the Radicals, whose views were accurately expressed

1864.

Cobden's support of the Government.

in the speech of Mr. Cobden. Why, asked Cobden, with his instinctive appreciation of the true point, why should England take up arms to carry out the decisions of diplomatists on the destinies of nations? Mr. Kinglake's amendment expressing approval of non-interference was carried by a majority of eighteen, being five more than the number which brought Lord Palmerston into power. Kinglake and Cobden in the same lobby, like Palmerston and Gladstone in the same Cabinet, illustrated the political confusion of the times.

But although the relations between Palmerston and Gladstone were not those which usually prevail among colleagues, it was upon his Chancellor of the Exchequer's Budgets that the Prime Minister chiefly relied when he appealed for a vote of confidence in his Government. This year, as the year before, no specific measure was mentioned in the Queen's Speech, and when Mr. Goschen, who seconded the Address, consulted the Premier about what he should say, he was told that the legislation of the session would consist of "a little bankruptcy." Lord Westbury's harmless efforts in that direction were, however, foiled in the House of Lords, and outside the sphere of finance the most important Ministerial measure was the Penal Servitude Act, which adopted the recommendations of a Royal Commission, so far as they required the authority of Parliament. The Commissioners found that there was no truth in the idle tales of convicts' luxuries. But they recommended that penal servitude should never be imposed for less than five years, that the first nine months should be spent in solitary confinement, and that the close of a long sentence should be transportation to Western Australia. This last proposal, however, had to be ultimately, and rather ignominiously, abandoned. For while Western

A legislative famine.

Australia was willing enough to receive even criminal settlers who would work with their hands, the other Australian Colonies, especially Victoria, protested so strongly against such a pollution of the Continent that Ministers deemed it inadvisable to persist. 1864.

The barrenness of the session was redeemed by the energy and ability of Mr. Gladstone. His Budget announced a surplus of two millions and a half, with which he reduced the income tax from sevenpence to sixpence, and relieved the consumers of sugar from the burden which had been imposed upon them by the necessities of the Crimean War. He showed that the commercial prosperity of the country was steadily increasing from a variety of causes, such as the Treaty with France, the removal of taxes, and the improvement of mechanical contrivances. In altering the mode by which the duty on foreign grain was assessed from measure to weight, from a shilling a quarter to threepence a hundredweight, he warned the agricultural interest that this remnant of the old Corn Laws could not be regarded as a permanent part of the public revenue. On the other hand, he made to the farmers a slight concession. Having strenuously argued in his financial statement against sacrificing five or six millions by the repeal of the malt tax, he afterwards agreed to exempt malt used for feeding cattle, if it were prepared in a separate malt-house. This boom did not give universal satisfaction, inasmuch as it weakened the case of those who assailed the whole principle of the tax. Of greater and more permanent value was Mr. Gladstone's Bill for providing, through the Post Office, a system of annuities and insurances on a humble and useful scale. But the most immediately exciting speech of the session was not financial, though delivered by the Chancellor of the Exchequer. On a

The Budget, April 7.

1864. May 11. Wednesday afternoon, when Wednesday afternoons were proverbial for dullness, Mr. Baines, Member for Leeds, moved the second reading of his Parliamentary Reform Bill. It proposed a six pound instead of a ten pound franchise in boroughs, and it was rejected by a large majority. But Mr. Baines scored a point worth more than a successful division in the moral support he received from the man of the future. After pointing out that the Reform Act of 1832 had positively disfranchised the working classes, the fathers of the men who had recently shown in Lancashire such splendid examples of patience and fortitude, Mr. Gladstone uttered this memorable sentence: "I say that every man who is not presumably incapacitated by some consideration of personal unfitness or political danger is morally entitled to come within the pale of the Constitution." Obvious as this principle may seem now, nothing like it had then been heard in the House of Commons from a responsible Minister of the Crown. The advanced Liberals, who had hitherto suspected Gladstone, began to look on him as their leader. The alarmed Conservatives[1] relied upon Lord Palmerston, and they did not rely in vain. Although he was not present at the debate, the Premier took pains to let it be known that he was far from sharing the views of his colleague. Two other Bills, which, like Mr. Baines's, failed to pass, are nevertheless worthy of commemoration. An enthusiastic young Radical, then Mr. Wilfrid Lawson, Member for Carlisle, introduced for the first time his Local Option Bill,

Gladstone's Democratic speech.

Local option.

[1] There was some ground for their alarm. The International Association of Workmen, founded in London by Karl Marx on the 28th of September 1864, became extremely powerful during the next few years, especially in France. Commonly known as "The International," it contained some of the most violent revolutionists in Europe. Mr. Disraeli thoroughly appreciated its influence and importance.

empowering two-thirds of the electors in any parish to prevent the sale of strong drink by retail. Only thirty-five members voted for a proposal which, if it were largely adopted, would effect a revolution in English life. Mr. Dodson's measure for abolishing religious tests in the University of Oxford was read a third time by the Speaker's vote, only to be thrown out on the formal motion that "this Bill do pass." 1864.

Impregnable as Lord Palmerston's position was, he had vulnerable colleagues. Mr. James Stansfeld, the Civil Lord of the Admiralty, was known to be intimate with Mazzini, the great Italian Republican and conspirator. As a political philosopher Mazzini was not inferior to Mill, and his personal character was warmly esteemed by such critical judges as the Carlyles. But on the subject of political assassination he indulged in sinister casuistry, which gave strangers an erroneous idea of a truly disinterested patriot. Nothing in Mr. Stansfeld's long life[1] brought him closer to real fame than his friendship with Mazzini. But it also led him into temporary trouble. A man called Greco was tried in Paris with others for conspiracy to murder the Emperor, who had not deserved ill of Italians, and a letter was found in Greco's possession, telling him to write for money to Mr. Flowers, of 35 Thurloe Square, Brompton, which was Mr. Stansfeld's house. It turned out that Mr. Flowers, or Signor Fiori, was Mazzini, whose letters were for convenience delivered at Mr. Stansfeld's. This trumpery case was urged by the Conservatives in the House of Commons with such persistence that though they were beaten on a division, and though Palmerston stood chivalrously by his young recruit, Mr. Stansfeld at last resigned his office. Although Mr. Disraeli melodramatically described the Member for Halifax as corresponding with "the assassins of Europe, who pointed their Stansfeld and Mazzini. March 20.

[1] He became Sir James Stansfeld before he died.

1864. poniards at the hearts of our allies," the affair was trivial, and many Conservatives must have felt the sting of John Bright's taunt when he said that if he were the hungriest of the hungry, he would not march to office over the reputation of the youngest man on the Treasury Bench. A more serious charge was made against Mr. Lowe, the Vice-President of the Council, by Lord Robert Cecil, who accused him of garbling the reports sent in to the Education Department by Her Majesty's Inspectors of Schools.

April 12. Mr. Lowe caustically replied that the Inspectors had been required to keep their observations within bounds for the sake of public economy, but that, if the House of Commons thought fit, the reports should be printed in full, whatever they cost. This did not satisfy the House, and the vote of censure was carried by a majority of eight. Mr. Lowe thereupon resigned, and his place was filled by Mr. Bruce, afterwards Lord Aberdare. A Select Committee appointed to examine the charge so completely exonerated the fallen Minister that the

Mr. Lowe's resignation. resolution was unanimously rescinded. Mr. Lowe had many faults, but dishonesty was not one of them. It might almost be said that honesty was. If he had to say a disagreeable thing, he would never stoop to say it in an agreeable manner. Almost simultaneously with Mr. Lowe's resignation a vacancy was made in the Cabinet by the retirement

Death of the Duke of Newcastle. of the Duke of Newcastle, who died six months afterwards, at the age of fifty-three, having never, it was said, fully recovered from the stress and strain of the Crimean War. He was succeeded as Colonial Secretary by Mr. Cardwell, and, lest the aristocratic character of the Cabinet should be impaired, Lord Clarendon returned to it after an interval of six years, this time as Chancellor of the Duchy. On the death of Lord Carlisle, Lord Lieutenant of Ireland, Lord Wodehouse became Viceroy in his room.

Two distinguished foreigners paid memorable visits to England in 1864. Garibaldi arrived on the 3rd of April, and was received with extraordinary enthusiasm, in which all classes of society shared. His headquarters were at Stafford House, where he astonished Lord Malmesbury by smoking in the Duchess of Sutherland's boudoir.[1] His greatest popular reception was at the Crystal Palace, where he spoke to twenty thousand people. The admiration justly excited by his simple and heroic character was enhanced by the traces of the wound he had received at Aspromonte from the soldiers of the king in his chivalrous, though unsuccessful, expedition to Rome. But discretion was never one of his characteristics, and when the Italians in London presented him with a sword, he expressed a hope of carrying it with him to Rome and Venice. In diplomatic circles this patriotic aspiration was unfavourably regarded, while Garibaldi's announcement of his willingness to fight for the American Union, should his services be required, was unpalatable to many of his aristocratic admirers. It was discovered that he could not fulfil all the provincial engagements which had been made for him, and that to choose between them would be invidious. Within three weeks of his landing at Southampton he left England in the Duke of Sutherland's yacht, which conveyed him to his island home at Caprera. In the month of October the leader of the French Bar, M. Berryer, a famous orator, and staunch Royalist, being the guest of Lord Brougham, was entertained at dinner in the hall of the Middle Temple. The Attorney-General, Sir Roundell Palmer, took the chair, and Mr. Gladstone was among the speakers. But the chief incident of the occasion was the verbal encounter between Brougham and

1864.

Garibaldi in England.

The dinner to Berryer.

[1] *Memoirs of an Ex-Minister*, vol. ii. pp. 320–321.

1864.

Brougham and Cockburn.

Chief Justice Cockburn on a subject of more than legal interest. Lord Brougham committed himself to the doctrine that an advocate should put the interests of his client above every other consideration. Not so, said the eloquent Chief. He should wield the sword of the warrior, not the dagger of the assassin. He should conduct his case *per fas*, but not *per nefas*. He should reconcile the interests of his client with the eternal interests of justice and truth. There could hardly have been a more telling retort. But Sir Alexander Cockburn did not explain what, on his showing, was the difference between an advocate and a judge.

After Mr. Roebuck's ludicrous failure no further attempts were made in Parliament to procure the recognition of the Southern States, though Lord Russell continued to indulge in gratuitous and most unfortunate prophecies that they would succeed in establishing their independence. On the other hand, what was more important, he and the law officers did their duty in enforcing the Foreign Enlistment Act. They would not permit the Messrs. Laird of Birkenhead to make war upon the American Union by supplying the Southern Confederacy with steam rams. Two of these powerful and novel warships, the *Wyvern* and the *Scorpion*, had been built for the Confederates in the summer of 1863. All sorts of lies were told, and all manner of deception was practised, to prevent the truth from coming out. But they failed, and the rams were seized. The credit for this vigilance and promptitude, which averted immeasurable calamities, must be divided between Lord Russell, Sir Roundell Palmer, and Sir Robert Collier, the new Solicitor-General, whose opinion, given before he became a law officer, should have secured the detention of the *Alabama*. While the case against the Lairds was pending, Lord Derby

The case of the steam rams.

and Sir Hugh Cairns sought to prejudge it by attacking the Government for carrying out the law. But their respectable clients were men of business, and privately approached Her Majesty's Ministers with a view to a deal. They asked three hundred thousand pounds for their rams. The Admiralty knocked off eighty thousand, and bought them out of hand. After the result, if so it can be called, of the *Alexandra's* case, this was the wisest course to take, and it conclusively vindicated to American opinion the good faith of the Cabinet. Apart from international law, it would have been a crime to prolong a hopeless struggle now slowly reaching its inevitable close. The Southern planters fought with splendid tenacity, and the sufferings they endured are not to be told. But they were out-numbered, though not out-generalled, and they were met with a resolution equal to their own. On the 19th of June the *Alabama*, perhaps the most mischievous boat ever built by man, was destroyed by the Federal steamer *Kearsarge* off Cherbourg, and a perverse fate ordained that Captain Semmes should be picked up by a British yacht. The action of the Canadian authorities, technically justifiable, in refusing to surrender Southern refugees, inflamed the bad feeling which a militant press on both sides of the Atlantic had industriously excited. Very few people in England suspected even in the autumn of 1864 that the war was near its end. On the contrary, the sympathisers with the South in high places circulated rumours that the North was tired of the conflict, and that a pacific President would be chosen. But on the 8th of November Lincoln was re-elected without serious opposition,[1] and by Christmas Savannah was in

1864.

Destruction of the *Alabama*.

Re-election of President Lincoln.

[1] The Democratic candidate was General M'Lellan, "the young Napoleon," who distinguished himself neither in politics nor in war.

1865. Sherman's hands. This was the end of his march through Georgia, and the beginning of the end itself. It was not, however, till the 3rd of April 1865 that Richmond surrendered, and General Lee, a truly great soldier, handed his sword to General Grant. The terms of submission had just been concluded when the hand of a cowardly assassin deprived America of her greatest citizen at the very moment when she most needed his sagacity, his sympathy, and his genius. Not many Englishmen understood or appreciated Lincoln during his lifetime. His sudden and violent death illuminated, as by a flash of lightning, a character as noble in its self-forgetfulness, as heroic in its fortitude, as pathetic in its isolation, as homely in its quaint, rugged strength, as any in the pages of Plutarch, or the realities of life. He never recovered consciousness after he was shot. But he was so far happy in the opportunity of his death that he lived to see the greatest curse of human infliction removed from his native land. The feeble and inadequate tributes paid to him in the British Legislature were no real reflection of the feeling which prevailed among the masses of the people for the foremost man of his time.

The fate of Richmond.

The murder of Lincoln.

The expiring Parliament.

Parliament met in 1865 under the shadow of impending dissolution. It was known that there must be a General Election in the summer, and in view of the approaching competition even Lord Palmerston put some goods into his shop-window. The Queen's Speech promised a few Bills, most of which became law. The proposal, which had failed three years previously, for uniting the Courts of Justice under one roof near Temple Bar, was this time successful. All that could be done by Act of Parliament was completed for the revision of the Statute law. Equitable jurisdiction was given to County Courts, and thus their power was doubled.

The Poor Law was reformed in a sensible and practical way by substituting a union of parishes for a single parish in matters of administration, thus preventing the hardship to paupers of removal from one parish to another. A Commercial Treaty was concluded with the German Zollverein, which survived mighty political changes, and lasted, to the great advantage of both countries, for more than thirty years. But public attention was almost entirely absorbed by the state of Ireland and the prospects of reform. John Bright's speech to his constituents at Birmingham on the 18th of January was encouraging and stimulating to reformers. Two sentences in particular were adopted as a sort of watchword by advanced Liberals. "An Englishman," said Mr. Bright, "if he goes to the Cape, can vote; if he goes to Australia, can vote; if he goes to the Canadian Confederation, can vote. It is only in his own country, and on his own soil, where he was born — the very soil which he has enriched with his labour and the sweat of his brow — that he is denied this right, which in every community of Englishmen in the world would be freely accorded to him." But the cause of reform, and many other good causes, suffered an irreparable loss in the death of Richard Cobden. A singularly felicitous eulogy was passed upon this illustrious man in the House of Commons by Mr. Disraeli, who, except Mr. Gladstone, was the only other living force in English statesmanship to be compared with Cobden's. "There are some men," said the Leader of the Opposition, "who, though they are not present, will still always be members of this House — independent of dissolutions, of the caprices of constituencies, and even of the course of time. I think that Mr. Cobden was one of those men, . . . and that he was not only an ornament to the House of Commons, but an honour to England." It would

1865.

The movement for reform.

Death of Cobden, April 2.

Disraeli's tribute.

1865. be difficult to find an instance of praise more beautifully expressed, and more amply deserved. Even without Cobden, reform continued to make steady progress, though as yet public excitement had not risen high. Mr. Baines once more introduced his Bill. But whereas last year he had gained a powerful auxiliary in Mr. Gladstone, this year he encountered a formidable adversary in Mr. Lowe. Wednesday afternoons were becoming quite lively, when such champions entered the lists.

Lowe as an anti-reformer.

May 8. On this Wednesday Mr. Lowe astonished the House by delivering the first of those Philippics against Democracy, which raised him to the highest level of Parliamentary fame. He had seen Democracy in Australia, and he did not like it. He had read about it in Aristotle, who did not like it either. But his classical acquirements, and his colonial experience, were less adapted to the taste of the House than his lively comparison of Liberal and Conservative reformers with a boy and girl playing battledore and shuttlecock, who put down their battledores and begin to flirt. In a more serious, though not a more practical strain, he warned the Liberal party that if they failed in attempting to carry a Reform Bill, they would destroy themselves, and if they succeeded they would destroy their country. The "previous question" destroyed the Bill.

The state of Ireland.

The condition of Ireland, and especially the dwindling of her inhabitants by emigration, was discussed by Irish members on the Address. Lord Palmerston merely trifled with the subject. Irishmen, he said, were charming people, but Ireland had a wretched climate. What was wanted was more capital. There was nothing the matter with the land laws, and tenant right was landlords' wrong. With this cheap and shallow epigram the veteran Premier dismissed from his mind a neigh-

Palmerston on tenant right.

bouring country on the brink of revolution. Mr. Gladstone naturally looked more to the future, and in a debate on the Irish Church raised by Mr. Dillwyn, pronounced that that establishment had failed as a missionary church, because it ministered to not more than one-eighth of the community. The debate was adjourned, and never resumed. But Mr. Gladstone's speech caused intense excitement, and his clerical constituents were not slow in asking for explanations. Writing to one of his High Church friends, Dr. Hanna of Glenalmond, Mr. Gladstone described the question as "remote, and apparently out of all bearing on the practical politics of the day." But this was not a view with which the electors of Oxford University were disposed to be content. If, however, Mr. Gladstone offended his constituency by supporting Mr. Dillwyn's motion, he equally discouraged his party by opposing Mr. Goschen's Oxford Test Bill, which failed to pass, though it had a majority in its favour. But friend and foe alike were captivated by his Budget, which may be called the crown and summit of Gladstonian finance. Vigilant economy, and a trade vastly increased by narrowing the area of taxation, had given the Chancellor of the Exchequer a surplus of four millions. With this he reduced the duty on tea by half, from a shilling to sixpence, and the income tax by a third, from sixpence to fourpence. Such remissions put criticism to silence, and those who grumbled at the continuance of the malt tax got little attention from any one, except from Mr. Gladstone himself.

1865.

Gladstone on the Irish Church.

June 8.

April 27, Gladstonian finance.

Unluckily for the Government, there was another Chancellor besides the Chancellor of the Exchequer. Lord Westbury was an able administrator, and a zealous reformer of the law. But he was in the proper sense of the term unprincipled.

The disgrace of Lord Westbury.

1865. He had nothing to guide him, except a by no means infallible sense of what was immediately expedient. There have been far worse jobbers in office than Lord Westbury. But either they jobbed in the interests of their party, and received their party's support, or they simply appointed incompetent men, on personal grounds, knowing that incompetency does not admit of strict proof. Lord Westbury, for the sake of his own sons, involved himself in a network of sordid intrigue, which, paradoxical as it may seem to say so, deserves the epithet of "stupid" more than any other. The case of Leonard Edmunds, and the case of Patrick Welch, suggest rather the cunning of a village attorney than the deliberate diplomacy, however tortuous, of a great scholar and judge. Edmunds was Clerk of the Patents, and Reading Clerk to the House of Lords. As Clerk of the Patents he embezzled large sums of money. He was allowed to resign both his offices, and the Chancellor, with full knowledge of the facts, recommended to a Select Committee, of which he was himself a member, that Edmunds should receive a pension of eight hundred a year. The Committee, not knowing that Edmunds was a thief, reported in favour of the pension, and the Chancellor at once appointed his own son, Slingsby Bethell, to be Reading Clerk. Another Select Committee of the Lords censured him for his culpable reticence by a bare majority,[1] and the pension, not the appointment, was revoked. The Premier refused to receive the Chancellor's resignation, and the matter would probably have dropped if it had not been followed by the scandal of the Registry at Leeds. The Registrar in the Leeds Court of Bankruptcy, Mr. Wild, unable to explain his accounts, was

[1] The mover was the first Lord Taunton, a pattern of austere rectitude in public and private life.

permitted to retire with a pension, though the sole evidence of infirmity he could produce was that he had consulted a doctor about his eyes. His successor, Mr. Welch, was alleged to be also an invalid, and only holding the office until the Chancellor's elder son, Richard Bethell, an outlawed bankrupt, had obtained a judicial annulment of his bankruptcy. Mr. Bethell, afterwards Lord Westbury, had received money from Welch for influence which he claimed to exercise with his father, and his character was thoroughly disreputable. He boasted of having secured the reversion to Welch's place. But he was never actually appointed, and a Select Committee of the House of Commons, to which the matter was referred, acquitted the Lord Chancellor of all charges except a want of caution in the appointment of Welch. Again the Chancellor offered to resign, and again the Premier refused to accept his resignation. But the scandal to public justice had become intolerable, and on the 3rd of July, in the last days of the expiring Parliament, Mr. Ward Hunt, one of the Members for Northamptonshire, proposed a direct vote of censure upon the holder of the Great Seal. Lord Westbury was most ably and loyally defended by Sir Roundell Palmer, the Attorney-General. But the case against him was overwhelming, and after the Government had been defeated on a question of adjournment, Mr. Hunt's motion, with a few verbal changes, was adopted without a dissentient voice. Lord Westbury at once resigned, and the Great Seal was restored to Lord Cranworth, who had been very unwisely superseded six years before. 1865.

The General Election.

On the 6th of July 1865 the Parliament of 1859 was dissolved, and Lord Palmerston once more appealed to the country. He contented himself with asking through the electors of Tiverton for a renewal of confidence in his Administration, and

1865. so far as a majority implies confidence, he received it. But the Radicals were fighting as much against him as against the Tories, and it was they who chiefly profited by the Liberal gain of fifty votes on a division. A few seats were also lost to the Conservative party in Ireland by an injudicious speech of Lord Derby's in the House of Lords, on the necessity of "muzzling" Roman Catholics by the oath of abjuration. Four Liberals were returned for the City of London, Mr. Goschen being at the head of the poll. John Stuart Mill was elected for Westminster, and Thomas Hughes, as earnest champion of the working classes before their championship could be rewarded with votes, became Member for Lambeth. So far as the election turned upon any single issue, it turned upon Parliamentary reform, of which Mr. Bright was the principal advocate, and the result was rather favourable than otherwise to the reformers.

Gladstone's defeat at Oxford.

Mr. Gladstone lost his seat for the University of Oxford, though he was supported by a majority of the residents, and by the most distinguished graduates, including men who agreed in nothing else, such as Pusey and Jowett, Pattison and Keble. His successful opponent, Mr. Gathorne Hardy,[1] was a staunch Conservative, a zealous churchman, and a fluent speaker, without any special qualifications to represent a University. Whatever may have been the case with Oxford, Mr. Gladstone himself gained more than he lost. Before the Oxford poll was over, he had been nominated for South Lancashire, and two days after his defeat he was once more a member for Parliament. He was also, as he said himself in the Free Trade Hall at Manchester, alluding to Lord Derby's indiscretion, "unmuzzled." Oxford had long hampered him, especially in ecclesiastical politics. Henceforth he

[1] The first Earl of Cranbrook.

was free to take his own line as the most prominent member of the Liberal party, both in the country and in the House of Commons. 1865.

But before the new Parliament could meet, another, and a far greater change had altered the whole course of public life. On the 18th of October, after a very short illness, Lord Palmerston died at Brocket Hall in the eighty-first year of his age. He was buried on the 27th in Westminster Abbey, and those statesmen who attended the funeral must have felt with Lord Derby that they stood at the parting of the ways. "Rest and be thankful" was Lord Russell's motto, not Lord Palmerston's. But it was the essence of Palmerstonianism at home, as distinguished from the active intervention which in earlier days Lord Palmerston had practised abroad. Palmerston had sat in the House of Commons for nearly sixty years, and for the greater part of that time he had been in office. His wonderful popularity was less political than personal. For though his morals had been formed under the Regency, they were discreetly veiled, and in private, as in public life, he was incapable of a mean, petty, or sordid action. "He was always," said Cobden on his death-bed, "a generous enemy." The immediate effect of his death was to smooth the path of Parliamentary reform. The strange vicissitudes to which the revival of that question led must be left for another volume. When the old pilot had dropped off, the ship of State, though steered with energy and skill, left the protection of the harbour and encountered rough weather in the open sea. The greatest of all the restraining forces in politics had been suddenly removed, and the most stimulating of those forces was freed from the shackles which had hitherto impeded its resistless energy. The Palmerstonian era was over. The Gladstonian era had begun. The death of Palmerston.

CHAPTER XIII

SCIENCE, LITERATURE, AND THE CHURCH

1857-65.

Palmerston's ecclesiastical patronage.

The ecclesiastical politics of Lord Palmerston's Administration had an important influence upon the future of the English Church. Palmerston took no interest in the Church, and surrendered the task of making Bishops to Lord Shaftesbury. This was a derogation of duty, and a breach of trust. For Lord Shaftesbury was honestly and sincerely convinced that no one was fit to preside over a diocese who did not belong to the Evangelical School. The Episcopal Bench was therefore for many years recruited almost entirely from the ranks of the Low Church. Such exclusiveness was neither wise nor just, and it gave the High Church party a legitimate grievance, which an impartial critic like Charles Greville recognised as genuine, to which Lord Derby adverted in Parliament, and of which Bishop Wilberforce loudly complained. Nor can it be said that these evangelical prelates, good Protestants no doubt, were men of such eminence that to pass them over would have been unfair. With the single exception of Dr. Tait, consecrated Bishop of London in 1856 from the Deanery of Carlisle, they had no special or peculiar gifts to justify the monopoly of advancement which they enjoyed. The names of Bickersteth, and Baring, and Villiers, whatever other associations they may have, are not connected with episcopal eminence, or spiritual zeal.

But while the patronage of the Church was placed by the statesman responsible for it at Lord Shaftesbury's disposal, the forces of Ritualism and Sacerdotalism were rather strengthened than weakened by the attempt unfairly to suppress them. The case of Westerton *v.* Liddell resulted in a qualified, but not unimportant, victory for the High Church. Mr. Liddell, the Rector of St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, was involved in litigation with one of the church-wardens, Mr. Westerton, over the furniture of two churches. Both at St. Paul's, Knightsbridge, and at St. Barnabas, Pimlico, ornaments had been introduced in public worship which were alleged to be at variance with the principles of the Reformation, and the requirements of the law. Dr. Lushington, the Judge of the Consistory Court, and Sir John Dodson, the Dean of the Arches, ordered the removal of a stone altar, of a cross, of a credence-table for the temporary reception of the unconsecrated elements, and of certain coloured cloths. Mr. Liddell, though a High Churchman, acknowledged the supremacy of the Queen by appealing to the Judicial Committee, and he did not appeal in vain. This was the first in a long series of decisions on the law of ritual, and was for some time supposed by sanguine persons to have set the matter at rest. It is obvious that, whatever latitude may be allowed in an established church to the expression of opinion, the performance of religious ceremonies, and their external surroundings, must be subject to some regular order. This was the strongest point in Archbishop Laud's case against the Puritans. To take an extreme instance on the other side, a clergyman of the Church of England, who said mass in Latin, or adorned the sacred edifice with images of the Virgin, would inevitably be admonished and

1857-65.

Ritualism.

Westerton *v.* Liddell.

1857-65. restrained. The questions raised by Mr. Liddell were much less simple, and much nearer the line. The Court summoned to decide them was as impartial as any human tribunal could be. It consisted of the Chancellor, Lord Cranworth; of Lord Wensleydale; of two common law judges, Patteson and Maule; and of Mr. Pemberton Leigh, who delivered the judgment. Pemberton Leigh was unsurpassed in ability by any of his legal contemporaries, and equalled by very few. But he was unambitious, in comfortable circumstances, and willing to see the prizes of his profession taken by inferior men. It is impossible to read his judgment without being struck by the force of his reasoning, and the entire absence of every consideration except regard for the law. The decisions of the Court below were neither wholly reversed nor wholly affirmed. A cross, as distinguished from a crucifix, was declared to be a legal ornament, if it were not made the object of idolatrous worship. On the other hand, the Court unhesitatingly condemned the stone altar at St. Barnabas. An altar was intended for the sacrifice of the mass, and was by the prescription of the Roman Catholic Church to be made of stone. A communion-table was designed for the celebration of the Lord's Supper, and was by the usage of the Church of England to be made of wood. A cross attached to an altar was too closely connected with Roman practices to be legitimate. On the other hand, credence-tables were pronounced harmless, and the colour of the communion-cloth was left to the taste or fancy of the Bishop. With regard to ornaments in general, their Lordships held that the word had a wider sense than mere decoration, and extended to the whole ceremonial apparatus of the Church. Such ornaments were by the statute of Elizabeth

March 22, 1857.

lawful as the Second Prayer-Book of Edward the Sixth had prescribed. With reference to the wishes of the parishioners their Lordships pointed out that while some members of the congregation were conscientiously opposed to Mr. Liddell's changes, and others as conscientiously adhered to them, there were also some, "not, it was to be hoped, a few," who would rather forego the ornaments, or retain them, than disturb the peace of the Church to which they belonged. This calm and reasonable judgment was received with general respect and satisfaction. The only member of the Court known to have any ecclesiastical opinions, Mr. Justice Patteson, was a High Churchman. But Archbishop Sumner of Canterbury, a Low Churchman, and Bishop Tait of London, a Broad Churchman, who as Privy Councillors had been invited to assist the Committee, agreed with the conclusions at which their lay colleagues had arrived. It is to be observed that at this time a movement which might not inaptly be called Ritualistic agitated the Presbyterian Church of Scotland, where Dr. Lee introduced into his church [1] an organ, a manual of written prayers, and other innovations, more or less borrowed from the Church of England. The General Assembly condemned these changes, but no appeal was made to the Courts of Law. The Church of Scotland has succeeded since 1843 in preserving its internal freedom, despite its connection with the State.

1857–65.

Ritual in the Church of Scotland.

June 24, 1865.

Theological questions of far graver moment than altars or crosses were raised in 1858, when Henry Longueville Mansel delivered his Bampton Lectures, and William George Ward became editor of the *Dublin Review*. Ward was an English convert to Roman Catholicism, who had been deprived of his Oxford degree by Convoca-

The *Dublin Review*.

[1] Greyfriars, in Edinburgh.

1857-65. tion for publishing a book called *The Ideal of a Christian Church*. He became a zealous Ultramontane of the most thorough-going type, regarding Newman as a dangerous Liberal, and directing his thunder with especial vigour against the tolerant Catholicism of the *Home and Foreign Review*.[1] His policy exactly suited Pius the Ninth, who ultimately caused the *Home and Foreign Review* to be suppressed. Ward's talent for controversy was remarkable, and his metaphysical acumen was highly praised by a man so different from him in all respects as John Stuart Mill. His influence was thrown entirely against Liberal Catholicism, and in favour of authoritative dogma. Mansel, then a teacher of philosophy at Oxford, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, chose for the subject of his Bampton Lectures, which are really sermons, "the limits of religious thought." The preacher's ability and ingenuity were admired most by those, such as Mill, who agreed with him least; for the conventionally orthodox party were more than half afraid of him, and no wonder. So bent was he upon demonstrating the impotence of reason in matters of faith that he denied the possibility of ascribing any human attributes to God. It was pointed out by Goldwin Smith from the orthodox, and by Mill from the secularist platform, that between this position and pure atheism the difference is rather nominal than real. That Mansel was himself a believer, and honestly meant to defend the faith, there can be no doubt. He was a disciple of Sir William Hamilton, and the whole bent of his mind was Conservative. But he had taken up double-edged

The *Home and Foreign Review*.

Mansel's Bampton Lectures.

[1] Originally the *Rambler*. Edited by Sir John, afterwards Lord, Acton, who, if his powers of construction had been equal to his powers of acquisition, would have been a leader of thought, as well as a prodigy of learning.

weapons, and Mill received some sympathy from many sincere Christians when he declared that rather than worship such a Being as Mansel called God, he would "go to hell." Ward, logical in all things, defended Mansel, and carried on a lively paper warfare with Mill. 1857–65.

Meanwhile a tempest was arising in another quarter, compared with which the Bampton dispute was transient and ephemeral. In the year 1858 the Linnæan Society received papers from Charles Darwin and Alfred Russel Wallace, both of which discussed and adopted the theory of natural selection in plants and animals. The following year Mr. Darwin brought out his great work, *The Origin of Species*, of which the full title is, *The Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection.* The gist of the book, stated in plain and popular language, was that the different species of animal life, including mankind, were not separately created, but developed by natural processes from a common source. These processes were mainly the struggle for existence, adaptation to environment, and the survival of the fittest. Darwin always admitted that there was no recorded instance of one species developing out of another in historic time. But he drew from geology reasons for supposing that the earth had existed for hundreds of millions of years, so that the absence of direct evidence for his theory was comparatively insignificant. That theory could only in the circumstances be put forward as an hypothesis, though, like the law of gravitation, it was an hypothesis which explained the phænomena. Almost every eminent man of science, except Professor Owen, accepted Darwin's doctrine after reading his book. But while, rationally considered, it illustrated in a most impressive manner the power and wisdom of God, it was bitterly attacked by the noisier section of *The Origin of Species.*

1857-65.

Charles Darwin.

theologians, and more particularly by Bishop Wilberforce. Darwin's was the greatest scientific genius that had appeared in England since the death of Newton. He was a man of science pure and simple. He cared nothing for fame, nothing for reward, nothing for any party, sect, or church. His whole life was devoted to the discovery and presentation of truth. Possessed of competent means, and not forced to work for his livelihood, he had settled, after a five years' voyage round the world, from 1831 to 1836, at his estate of Down in Kent, where he devoted himself to the patient study of nature. His sufferings at sea, which were incessant, but which he endured without complaining in the cause of science, had impaired his power of enjoyment, but not his capacity for work. In

Bishop Wilberforce's attack.

the *Quarterly Review* for July 1860, Bishop Wilberforce pronounced an authoritative opinion upon *The Origin of Species*. He was a very clever man with a very ready pen. Of real science he was as ignorant as a child. But he had picked up in conversation one or two scientific phrases; he knew something about the breeding of pigeons; he had perfect confidence in himself; he had been coached by Owen, and he was "the great Lord Bishop of England." So he patronised Darwin with lofty condescension, graciously admitted that he could describe the plumage of birds, or even the habits of ants, and deplored his inability to follow a chain of inductive reasoning. It is amazing that such an article, worth far less than the paper, still subject to duty, on which it was written, should have appeared in a respectable magazine. If Darwin read it, it must have given him infinite amusement, and made him wonder whether the writer understood the meaning of the word "charlatan." But he said nothing, and made no sign. Controversy, even with men of science,

was out of his line, and a victory over such an antagonist would have been a sufficient humiliation. 1857-65.

He had, however, an eager champion with the qualities and inclinations which he lacked himself. Thomas Henry Huxley, Professor at the Royal School of Mines, and at the Royal Institution, was an enthusiastic friend and disciple of the illustrious naturalist whose noble and simple life is the priceless heritage of science and of England. Huxley united with a thorough scientific training, and a special knowledge of biology, a remarkable gift of speech, and a pugnacity less scientific than human. The British Association was held in 1860 at Oxford. The Bishop of the Diocese felt it his duty to attend, and to improve the occasion by a few words on *The Origin of Species*. The subject was one for dry scientific analysis, or if there were any one present capable of so handling it, for luminous philosophic generalisation. The Bishop bestowed upon it some rather poor sophistry, and some very bad jokes. At the close of his speech, eloquent and plausible as all his speeches were, he turned to Professor Huxley, and inquired whether it was through his grandfather or his grandmother that the Professor claimed descent from a monkey. "The Lord hath delivered him into my hand," said Huxley to his neighbour, Sir Benjamin Brodie. After pointing out the structural resemblances between man and apes, which justified the theory that they might in remote præ-historic ages have descended from a common stock, he proceeded to his revenge. "I asserted," he said, "and I repeat, that a man has no reason to be ashamed of having an ape for his grandfather. If there were an ancestor whom I should feel ashamed in recalling, it would rather be a *man* — a man of restless and versatile intellect, who, not content with success in his own sphere of activity, plunges

Huxley's defence.

June 30, 1860.

1857-65. into scientific questions with which he has no real acquaintance, only to obscure them by an aimless rhetoric, and distract the attention of his audience from the real point at issue, by eloquent digression, and skilled appeals to religious prejudice."[1] Although the Bishop's admirers were shocked at the liberty taken with their hero, they could not deny that the provocation came from him, and was a grave error of taste. The effect of Huxley's spirited retort was prodigious, the more so as it was utterly unexpected. Although the meeting was supposed to be scientific, it contained only a sprinkling of adepts, and was quite incompetent to decide the issue. The Long Vacation had begun, and the undergraduates had gone down. But the large room in the Ashmolean was packed with an excited crowd, including many clergymen and some women, most of whom had come to see the pretensions of science crushed by the weight of episcopal authority. Bishop Wilberforce had taken a first in mathematics. Who therefore so fit to teach Darwin his place? The result of the conflict did not fulfil their expectations, and they were sorrowfully forced to admit that the protagonist of the Mosaic Cosmogony had met his match. Both the Bishop and the Professor have fallen into the hands of filial biographers. But whereas Mr. Leonard Huxley's Life of his father contains a full and most interesting description of this historic encounter, Mr. Reginald Wilberforce dismisses it in a few brief and obscure sentences, nor does the copious diary of the distinguished prelate appear to have included any reference to

[1] *Life and Letters of T. H. Huxley*, vol. i. p. 185. No full report of this celebrated debate exists. The quotation in the text, omitting an epithet which Huxley repudiated, is from a letter written at the time by one of the audience, John Richard Green, afterwards the popular historian of the English people. Huxley himself declared it to be substantially correct.

the subject. One fact, most creditable to the Bishop, remains to be added on the testimony of his opponent. "He bore me no malice," said Huxley, "but always treated me with the utmost courtesy whenever I met him." Christian charity apart, Bishop Wilberforce was a thorough man of the world. 1857-65.

By a curious coincidence, which can have been nothing more, the publication of *The Origin of Species* was almost immediately followed by the appearance of *Essays and Reviews*. This volume, which came out in February 1860, consisted of seven separate treatises, not written in co-operation, but put together with a common object. Though it had no ostensible editor, the originator of the book was the Reverend Henry Bristow Wilson, Rector of Great Staughton in Huntingdonshire, mainly assisted by Professor Jowett. The avowed aim of the essayists was to reconcile the central truths of the Christian religion with new scientific discoveries and modern philosophical developments. With the exception of Dr. Rowland Williams, whose Celtic exuberance sometimes carried him away, they treated their respective subjects with dignity and reverence. Only a sincere Christian could have taken part in an undertaking which sought, like *Essays and Reviews*, not to destroy but to preserve the faith. Mistaken the essayists may have been. Irreligious they could not be. But this obvious fact does not seem to have struck the self-constituted leaders of the religious world, who raised at once the cry of irreligion, and even of atheism. In this they received some support from an article in the *Westminster Review* for October 1860, which claimed *Essays and Reviews* as a contribution to the cause of materialism. This article is said to have made a great impression upon the clerical members of Con- *Essays and Reviews.*

1857-65. Max Müller's rejection.

vocation who had assembled in Oxford to vote against Max Müller, the first Oriental scholar of the time, a candidate for the Chair of Sanscrit, vacant by the death of Horace Hayman Wilson. The essayists were, all but one,[1] clergymen and Oxford men. There arose a demand for persecution, or prosecution, as it is sometimes spelt. The book, thus gratuitously advertised, went through several editions with great rapidity. If it appeared for the first time now, it would probably excite little attention, because its chief arguments have been accepted by most educated Protestants. But in 1860 it was "atheism" to hold with Professor Baden-Powell that the evidence for miracles must be considered in connection with our uniform experience of natural laws, or to propose, like Mr. Wilson, that clergymen of the National Church should be released from the duty of subscribing to obsolete phrases. Bishop Wilberforce came again to the front, and once more resorted to the congenial pages of the *Quarterly Review*. A single specimen of his reasoning will suffice to show the position of orthodox English Churchmen in the age of Ewald and Renan. Mr. Jowett, in his essay on the "Interpretation of Scripture," asked why the ordinary rules of criticism should not be applied to the Bible, and why the mention of a name should not be allowed to determine a date. How, for instance, can a writer, even a sacred writer, who introduces Cyrus, have written before the Captivity? The Bishop, with irrefragable logic, replied that that was just the difference between history and prophecy. If a prophet describes events which happened long after his time, what a true prophet he must be. Of this view it may be said, with far more point than it has been said of transubstantiation, that a faith which will stand such a test

Jan. 1861. Wilberforce on the essayists and reviewers.

[1] Mr. Charles Goodwin.

will stand any test. The *Edinburgh Review* for April contained a powerful and chivalrous defence of the book by Arthur Stanley, then Professor of Ecclesiastical History at Oxford, afterwards Dean of Westminster, who had refused himself to take part in the publication, but who never deserted a friend. Stanley was a Broad Churchman, like his father, the Bishop of Norwich, before him. One learned and able clergyman, of a different school, whose orthodoxy was never impugned, kept his head, and saw more clearly than his brethren. Richard Church, afterwards Dean of St. Paul's, wrote to his American and scientific friend Asa Gray, "There has been a great deal of unwise panic, and unjust and hasty abuse; and people, who have not an inkling of the difficulties which beset the questions, are for settling them in a summary way, which is perilous for every one."[1] The *Spectator*, the organ of the Maurician School, manfully defended the essayists. The *Saturday Review* sneered, and imputed motives, thereby losing the brilliant services of Charles Bowen, the distinguished judge of a later day.[2]

1857-65.

Stanley's reply.

Church's caution.

In February 1861, a year after the appearance of the obnoxious volume, the Bishops met to consider what course they should take. To ordinary laymen there seemed no particular reason why they should take any. But addresses from the clergy had poured in upon them, and they arrived at the always perilous conclusion that something must be done. The most eager among them was Wilberforce, from whose journal it transpires that opinions differed even on the episcopal Bench. Bishop Hampden of Hereford, forgetting his own troubles with heresy-hunters in the past, was all for prosecution. "It was," he said, "a question of Christianity, or no Christianity," which is just what the essayists and

[1] *Dean Church's Life*, p. 157.
[2] *Life and Letters of Benjamin Jowett*, vol. i. p. 296.

1857–65. reviewers said. Bishop Tait of London observed that there was no harm in Mark Pattison's essay, which was purely historical ("The English Church in the Eighteenth Century"), and that he defied any one to extract anything heretical from Dr. Temple's ("The Education of the World").[1] And Tait added, with characteristic sagacity, that "false doctrine must be endured."[2] Nevertheless a letter

Feb. 12, 1861. was issued, in the name of the Archbishop, drawn up by Wilberforce, and censuring the book in studiously vague terms. The most definite sentence in

Action of the Bishops. it is the following: "They [the Bishops] unanimously agree with me in expressing the pain it has given them that any clergyman of our church should have published such opinions as those concerning which you have addressed us." This letter was signed, to the amazement of the public, by Bishop Tait of London and Bishop Thirlwall of St. David's; and, to their amusement, by Bishop Hampden of Hereford. It led to an estrangement between Tait and his old pupils Temple and Jowett, who accused him of having in private expressed agreement with their views, or at least condonation of them.[3] The question for the Bishops was what to do next. For if they stopped at the letter, nobody would be, or even seem, at all the worse. Of the seven essayists, one, Professor

June 11, 1860. Baden-Powell, had died. Another, Mr. Goodwin, being a layman, did not fall within the scope of the episcopal censure. Pattison and Jowett were subject to academic, not clerical discipline, and Temple was responsible only to the trustees of

[1] There was, however, a sentence in Dr. Temple's essay which gave as much offence as anything in the book. "The faculty of faith has turned inwards, and cannot now accept any outer manifestations of the truth of God."

[2] *Life of Bishop Wilberforce*, vol. iii. pp. 3–4.

[3] Tait, however, held at this time that Jowett, Temple, and Pattison stood in a different category from Williams, Wilson, and Baden-Powell.

Rugby School. There remained the two beneficed clergymen, Rowland Williams and Henry Wilson. Williams was also Vice-President of a theological college at St. David's, from which Thirlwall declined to remove him. By a majority of one the Bishops decided that no general action should be taken, but that each Bishop should proceed in his own diocese, and Hamilton of Salisbury began with Williams. A prosecution was also commenced against Wilson by a brother clergyman in the diocese of Ely. Wilson had been one of the six tutors who signed the protest against Tract Ninety, the last of the *Tracts for the Times*. His views of the Church were not quite so comprehensive then as they had since become. 1857–65.

Meanwhile it was proposed that Convocation should pronounce synodically upon the book. This ancient body had not been suffered by the Crown to meet between the beginning of the eighteenth century and the middle of the nineteenth. Convocation was originally an estate of the realm, and proctors for the beneficed clergy were directed by Edward the First to attend Parliament. The clergy, however, insisted upon their right to tax themselves, to sit separately, and to grant money in Convocation alone.[1] So early as the thirteenth century the Convocation of Canterbury was divided from the Convocation of York, and the division has always been strictly preserved. "The Convocations of the two Provinces," says Bishop Stubbs, "as the recognised constitutional assemblies of the English clergy, have undergone, except in the removal of the monastic members at the dissolution [of the monasteries], no change of organisation from the reign of Edward the First down to the present day." Their legislation was embodied in the Canon Law, which, with the assent of the Convocation.

[1] Stubbs' *Constitutional History*, vol. ii. pp. 195–196.

1857-65. Crown, is binding upon the clergy, though not upon the laity. The right of the clergy to vote at Parliamentary elections had long been the only remnant of the ancient privilege which they exercised in taxing themselves.[1] It was almost a century and a half since Convocation had been permitted by the Government of the day to do any business whatsoever. A brief sitting, in the course of which some petitions were adopted, had been authorised by Lord Aberdeen in 1854. But it was not till 1861 that practical legislation was proposed. From that time to this the annual sittings of Convocation have been regularly held, have begun the day after the meeting of Parliament, and have been continued at intervals during the session as the Archbishops of Canterbury and York might think fit. For this revival, which has equally disappointed the hopes of its supporters and the fears of its opponents, the credit, if that be the word, is chiefly due to Bishop Wilberforce outside, and to Mr. Gladstone inside, the Cabinet. The Minister prevailed over the indifference of the Premier. The Bishop conquered the timid resistance of the Primate. The Upper House in Convocation consists of the Archbishop, and the Diocesan Bishops, of the Province. The Lower House comprises Deans, Archdeacons, two proctors for each chapter, and proctors for the clergy, two for every Diocese, elected by all holders of benefices therein.[2] Neither laymen nor curates are represented at all. Thus the idea of Convocation as a body representing the Church is one that cannot be seriously maintained. The first step taken by Convocation in 1861 was sensible enough. They

[1] It was an equivalent for that power, surrendered in 1664. See Hallam's *Constitutional History*, vol. iii. p. 325. Convocation was silenced in 1717.

[2] I need hardly say that the so-called "House of Laymen" is a private and irresponsible assembly unknown to the law.

repealed the Canon which prohibited parents from acting as sponsors at the baptism of their own children, and to this reform the Royal Assent was readily given. The Lower House then, at the instigation of Dr. Wordsworth, Archdeacon of Westminster,[1] expressed a pious hope that "the faithful zeal of the Christian Church might be enabled to counteract the pernicious influence of the erroneous opinions contained in *Essays and Reviews*." Further action was deferred until the judgment of the courts should have been obtained in the suits pending against Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson. 1857-65.

Of the six surviving Essayists and Reviewers three only were subjected to serious annoyance for their alleged heresies. Professor Jowett was cited to appear before the Vice-Chancellor's Court for having contravened the Articles of Religion. The Vice-Chancellor's Assessor, Mr. Mountague Bernard, afterwards Professor of International Law, a High Churchman, but a man of the world, followed the good example of Gallio, and refused to exercise jurisdiction. But although Jowett was Professor of Greek, and not of Theology, proposals for the adequate endowment of his Chair were successively rejected by the Hebdomadal Council, by Congregation, and by Convocation, on account of his theological opinions, until at last, in 1865, under the personal influence of his friend Dean Liddell, a Broad Churchman like himself, the Chapter of Christ Church, in fulfilment of a moral, though not a legal obligation, provided the annual stipend of £500. Jowett had rejected a subscription of £2000 from friends and admirers, of whom Lord Russell was one. Throughout his life his disinterested generosity in matters of money was conspicuous, the more so because with the intellect of a philosopher he had the temper of a comfortable worldling,

[1] Afterwards Bishop of Lincoln.

1857-65. and never coveted the crown of martyrdom. While such petty persecution as the University of Oxford directed at this time against her most brilliant Professor can neither be defended nor excused, the Bishops and other orthodox persons were clearly entitled, if they thought fit, to take legal proceedings against clergymen suspected of heresy. In the Court of Arches they gained a victory, for Dr. Lushington sentenced Dr. Williams and Mr. Wilson to a year's suspension from office and benefice. The defendants, however, appealed to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and there the tables were turned. The celebrated judgment which reversed Dr. Lushington's decree was delivered by Lord Chancellor Westbury on the 8th of February 1864.[1] The points on which the appellants had been condemned in the Court below were the laxity of their views concerning the inspiration of Scripture, justification by faith, and the eternal punishment of the wicked. The Judicial Committee held that on the first two points the passages cited from the *Essays* did not convey the meaning attributed to them by the Dean of the Arches, and on the third point they expressed themselves as follows: "We are not required, or at liberty, to express any opinion upon the mysterious question of the eternity of final punishment further than to say that we do not find in the Formularies to which this article [the article of charge] refers any such distinct declaration of our Church upon the subject as to require us to condemn as penal the expression of a hope by a clergyman that even the ultimate pardon of the wicked who are condemned in the day of judgment may be consistent with the will of Almighty God." It is strange that this sentence, expressed with all becoming rever-

[1] The other lay members of the Court were Lord Chelmsford, Lord Wensleydale, and Lord Kingsdown (Pemberton Leigh).

ence, should have scandalised the religious world, which would, perhaps, have received it with more equanimity if it had come from any other lips or pen. The two Archbishops, Longley and Thomson, dissented from the conclusion of the Committee, in which, however, Bishop Tait of London concurred.[1] Dr. Longley was a mild and pious Anglican, whom Palmerston had translated from York on the death of Dr. Sumner, a mild and pious Evangelical, in 1862. Mr. Gladstone then attempted to obtain for his friend Wilberforce the Archbishopric of York. But he failed, and the Primacy of England was given to the junior prelate on the Bench, the Bishop of Gloucester and Bristol. The acquittal of the Essayists and Reviewers did much to strengthen the Establishment, and to promote the influence of the Church with educated laymen. In both these respects it resembled, as it followed, the admirable choice of Dr. Stanley to be Dean of Westminster in 1863. No man in the Church of England did more than Dean Stanley to uphold freedom of thought, or to reconcile ecclesiastical institutions with moral improvement and social progress. The immediate effect of the Lord Chancellor's judgment, however, was anything rather than conciliatory. Convocation, calling itself a Synod, denounced "the volume entitled *Essays and Reviews*" for "containing teachings contrary to the doctrines received by the United Church of England and Ireland, in common with the whole Catholic Church of Christ." This clumsy and ill-worded resolution was perfectly harmless, a *telum imbelle sine ictu*. It affected no man's rights. It restricted no man's liberty. It was a mere ebullition of theological temper. But such as 1857–65.

[1] It was characteristic of Tait that, sitting as a judge, he decided on the evidence in favour of accused persons with whose opinions he himself disagreed.

1857–65. it was, it excited some not unnatural alarm among Liberals, who feared that Convocation would, unless restrained, revive the old censorship of books, which had been abolished nearly two centuries before. Lord Houghton, who regarded the Church of England as a branch of the Civil Service, brought the matter before the House of Lords, and asked what the Government proposed

July 15, 1864. to do. The Lord Chancellor replied that they proposed to do nothing. But he did not confine himself to that bare statement. In a series of elaborately prepared and carefully balanced periods he held up Convocation in general, and the Bishop of Oxford in particular, to ridicule and contempt. He expressed regret that Convocation had been allowed to meet again, and he asserted, with more than doubtful law, that those who had voted for the censure of the book incurred the penalties of a præmunire, including confiscation of goods. As to the Synodical judgment, it was "simply a series of well-lubricated terms — a sentence so oily and so saponaceous that no one could grasp it." This was, of course, aimed at Bishop Wilberforce, the author of the Resolution, and there was much more of the same kind. The Lord Chancellor revelled in his opportunity, and abused it without regard for the position which he occupied, or for the place in which he stood. But he had challenged a man quite as clever, and quite as ready of speech, as himself. After Archbishop Longley and Bishop Tait had gravely and temperately set forth their respective opinions in favour of the censure passed by the majority of Convocation and against it, Bishop Wilberforce plunged into the fray with a vigour equal to his antagonist's. "If," he said, with just indignation, — "if a man has no respect for himself, he ought at all events to respect the audience before which he speaks; and when the highest representative of the

law in England in your Lordships' Court, upon a matter involving the liberties of the subject and the religion of the nation and all those high truths concerning which this discussion has arisen, can think it fitting to descend to ribaldry, in which he knows that he can safely indulge, because those to whom he addresses it will have too much respect for their characters to answer him in like sort,— I say that this House has ground to complain of having its character unnecessarily injured in the sight of the people of this land by one occupying so high a position within it." The discomfiture of a bully is always agreeable, and the Lords listened with delight to this episcopal invective. Neither the brutal temper of Lord Thurlow nor the egoistical arrogance of Lord Brougham was so irritating as the cold, hard, sharp, stiletto-like insolence of Lord Westbury. The Churchman had another advantage over the lawyer. Lord Westbury, though always positive, was often inaccurate, and on this occasion he laid himself open to a telling rejoinder. An Established Church is necessarily Erastian, and the Church of England is no exception to the rule. But in speaking of the Queen as the head of the Church Lord Westbury used an incorrect and misleading phrase. Thinking of Henry the Eighth, he forgot Elizabeth. The sovereign of these realms is supreme over all persons, and over all causes, as well ecclesiastical as temporal. But the spiritual headship of the Church which Henry claimed in substitution for Papal authority was disclaimed by Elizabeth, and has never been revived. The weak point in the Bishop's case was his reply to Lord Houghton, who argued that Convocation was restricting freedom of opinion. Convocation, said the Bishop, only pronounced upon what it was lawful for ordained clergymen to hold. That was, no doubt, a very

1857-65.

1857-65. proper question to be decided, but Convocation had no power to decide it. It was within the exclusive jurisdiction of the Queen's Courts, and they had determined it in favour of the only two Essayists against whom proceedings were taken.

Before the case of the Essayists and Reviewers had been decided, there appeared the first part of
Oct. 1862. an inquiry into the age and authorship of the Pentateuch, by John William Colenso, Bishop of Natal. Dr. Colenso, who had been consecrated to this new colonial see in 1853, was a Cambridge Wrangler, the author of a popular work on arithmetic, and a very active missionary among the Zulus. He was extremely popular with the natives of South Africa, whose rights and interests he upheld with all the force of his manly, independent character. But he found himself unable to answer the questions put by his converts upon apparent discrepancies or impossibilities in the historical books of the Old Testament, and he was thus led to a serious examination of those books, beginning with the books of Moses. He was not a very profound scholar, he knew little or nothing of Biblical research in Germany, and his book, long since forgotten, turned upon problems connected with his favourite science. The statistics of the Bible have no connection in any rational mind with the truth and value of the Christian religion, which does not depend upon the dates at which the books of Deuteronomy and Chronicles were respectively composed. But the spectacle of a Bishop treating the Bible in a spirit of free criticism shocked many pious souls, and the Lower House of Convocation
May 19, 1863. strongly, or at least violently, condemned the work. The Upper House, with more prudence, postponed action until the judgment of an Ecclesiastical Court should have been obtained. There was one person, deeming himself an ecclesiastical judge, who had no

hesitation in pronouncing an opinion. The Bishop of Cape Town, Dr. Gray, claiming to be Metropolitan of South Africa, deposed Dr. Colenso from his office as a Bishop, and prohibited him from exercising any sacred functions in Cape Colony. Colenso appealed to the Crown, and the Government referred the matter to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. No theological question was raised, and neither the Archbishops nor the Bishop of London were summoned to attend the Committee, which consisted of the Lord Chancellor, Lord Cranworth, Lord Kingsdown, Dr. Lushington, and Sir John Romilly. The Court held that neither in the United Kingdom nor in a Constitutional Colony could a Bishopric be created by the Crown without the assent of the Imperial or Colonial Parliament, as the case might be. No such statute had in this case been passed, and therefore the Letters Patent purporting to create Dr. Gray Bishop of Cape Town and Metropolitan were improvidently issued. They had no effect in law, and the jurisdiction which Bishop Gray claimed he had no right to exercise. In answer to the argument of Sir Hugh Cairns that there could be no appeal from a nullity, their Lordships held that a dispute between two Bishops would, before the Reformation, have been settled by the Pope, whose power was transferred to the Crown in the reign of Henry the Eighth, and that for the Court of Delegates then established the Judicial Committee was the modern substitute. Accordingly, they reported to Her Majesty their judgment that the sentence pronounced by the Bishop of Cape Town upon the Bishop of Natal was null and void. Thus the alleged heresies of Bishop Colenso were never submitted to any competent tribunal, and he returned to his diocese in triumph. The real principles which the Judicial Committee laid down,

1857–65.

March 20, 1865.

1857–65. and which have never since been disputed, were the independence of the self-governing Colonies and the voluntary character of the Church of England therein. Bishop Wilberforce was shrewd enough to see that this was a charter of liberty for the Colonial Church. But the tone of Lord Westbury's judgment, or at least of the judgment read by him, was extremely offensive to the High Church party, and Dr. Pusey complained of its "insolent Erastianism." Uncompromisingly Erastian it certainly is, especially in its opening sentences. "The Bishop of Natal and the Bishop of Cape Town, who are the parties to this proceeding, are ecclesiastical persons who have been created Bishops by the Queen in the exercise of her authority as Sovereign of this realm and head of the Established Church. . . . Their respective and relative rights and liabilities must be determined by the principles of English law applied to the construction of the grants to them contained in the Letters Patent, for they are the creatures of English law, and dependent on that law for their existence, rights, and attributes." Dr. Pusey himself could not deny that these statements were true, although they might, no doubt, have been expressed in a less vehement and dictatorial style.

The ecclesiastical controversies and philosophical speculations of the day were regarded with amusement and contempt by the Leader of the Opposition in the House of Commons. They had no real meaning for him. He was neither High Church, nor Low Church, nor Broad Church. But the Broad Church was supposed to be in alliance with the Liberal party, of which he had a sincere dislike, and he took a characteristic opportunity of turning them both into ridicule. On the 25th of November 1864 the Oxford Diocesan Conference was being held in the Sheldonian Theatre, with Bishop Wilber-

force in the chair. Mr. Disraeli, who lived in the diocese, "lounged into the assembly in a black velvet shooting-coat and a wide-awake hat, as if he had been accidentally passing through the town." [1] His speech, when he came to speak, was not exactly the sort of address to which these semi-clerical gatherings were accustomed. It was said, he observed, that the age of faith had passed. He held that the characteristic of the age was a "craving credulity." A Church without creeds would lead to a dissolution of manners and morals. And who were the leaders of the Broad Church? Dean Stanley was treated with respect. But "prelates who appear to have commenced their theological studies after they had grasped the crozier" were coupled with "nebulous professors, who, if they could persuade the public to read their writings, would go far to realise that eternal punishment which they deny," with "the provincial arrogance and precipitate self-complacency which flash and flare in an essay or review." So much for Colenso, Maurice, Temple, and Jowett. As for Darwin, the question was: "Is man an ape or an angel? I, my Lord, am on the side of the angels." Divine truths had been entrusted by Omnipotence to the custody of a chosen people. In other words, religion was a secret of the Semitic race, to which the Essayists and Reviewers did not belong. What Bishop Wilberforce thought of this performance his son has not disclosed. There can be no doubt that it succeeded in its object, and gave great satisfaction to the Conservative Churchmen who heard or read it. They thought that the enemy of their enemies was of course their friend, and that the man who made fun of what they called infidelity must be a true believer himself. 1857-65.

While parties in the Church were quarrelling

[1] Froude's *Beaconsfield*, p. 173.

1857-65. about religion, while High Churchmen and Low Churchmen were combining to show that science could not be reconciled with Christianity, and to confound Broad Churchmen with atheists, real atheism was becoming familiar to the masses of men. Side by side with the English Church Union, founded for the promotion of Anglo-Catholic doctrines in 1860, appeared the *National Reformer*, in which the coarse materialism of Charles Bradlaugh found irreverent expression. While, on the one hand, ecclesiastics quarrelled about trifles, and, on the other hand, thousands of clergymen who never came before the public were labouring in the cause of faith and charity, the foundations of religion were being undermined. The restless, ambitious, eloquent, sophistical prelate who raised the hue and cry against science and biblical criticism would, if his influence had prevailed, have staked the fortunes of Christianity upon the falsity of an hypothesis now accepted by men as sensitively orthodox as himself. To draw a moral is easy. To read a lesson is hard. Neither persecution availeth anything, nor denunciation, but the keeping of the commandments of God. Yet is there a worse state of mind in a man or in a nation than a controversial temper and a contentious spirit, even accompanied by bigotry, intolerance, and the use of unfair weapons. It is the apathetic indifference to everything higher than material progress and worldly success, which may be and has been found in communities priding themselves upon their superiority to theological and ecclesiastical disputes.

Literature and progress.

The English literature of the period immediately succeeding the Crimean War is not only highly important in itself, but also full of purpose and of the modern spirit. Charles Reade's popular story, *It is Never too Late to Mend*, which appeared in 1856, had a distinctly humanitarian object, and was

directly aimed at the cruel practices which prevailed in many English prisons. Much of it was suggested by the case of Lieutenant William Austin, the Governor of Birmingham Gaol, who was convicted of barbarously ill-treating a boy named Andrews. Andrews was driven by the Governor's persecution to commit suicide, and the Judge pronounced the form of punishment adopted to be illegal. But instead of passing sentence at the Warwick Assizes, and vindicating the law in the neighbourhood where it had been broken, Mr. Justice Coleridge directed that Austin should come up for judgment to the Court of Queen's Bench, where he was awarded the very lenient penalty of three months' imprisonment, though he was morally guilty of murder. It is impossible not to contrast this misplaced mercy with the severe sentence of twenty-one months passed two years afterwards by the same learned and accomplished Judge upon a half-crazy peasant who had written blasphemous gibberish on a gate.[1] Reade took up the cause of prison reform in a spirit of generous philanthropy, and his incisive pen was an invaluable weapon. Though a classical scholar and a Fellow of a famous Oxford College,[2] Reade was essentially a writer for the people. His style was what, for want of a better word, may be called sensational. He seized and arrested the attention of his readers from the first, and his exposure of abuses was worth fifty Blue Books. Already known as the author of a charming story about the celebrated actress, Peg Woffington, he became widely and deservedly famous by *It is Never too Late to Mend*. Of a different kind, though equally popular, was *Tom Brown's School-days*, incomparably the most successful of all books for boys. The writer, who wrote little

1857-65. Charles Reade and prison reform. Aug. 3, 1865.

Tom Brown's Schooldays.

[1] R. *v.* Pooley. Bodmin Assizes, 30th July 1857.
[2] Magdalen.

1857–65. else worth reading, was Thomas Hughes, a barrister, a Christian socialist, and one of the founders of the Working Men's College in Great Ormond Street. Hughes never made much mark in his profession, though he died a County Court Judge. He was more interested in politics, and in social reform, which he pursued with the ardour of an enthusiast and a pioneer. His object in *Tom Brown's Schooldays*, however, was not the remedy of scandals, but the glorification of Rugby, of the monitorial system, and of Dr. Arnold. Upon the merits of that system, introduced by Arnold from Winchester, opinions may differ. The success of the book was immediate, lasting, and complete. It contains many verbal portraits, some of which must always retain their interest. Next to the terrible Doctor himself, the most striking figure is the delicate, studious, fastidious boy known in later generations as Dean Stanley.

George Eliot. But a far greater writer than either Hughes or Reade appeared in 1857. George Eliot's *Scenes of Clerical Life*, three exquisitely written tales, full of humour, pathos, and penetration, attracted less notice than they deserved. The British public did not in those days take to short stories, and the style of the new author was too quiet to strike the multitude. *Adam Bede*, published in 1859, at once established "his" reputation, to adopt the belief of the time, as worthy to be classed with Dickens and Thackeray. The humour of Mrs. Poyser is not borrowed, except from nature, yet it is not surpassed even by Sam Weller, or Mr. Micawber, or Major Pendennis. The men in *Adam Bede* are inferior to the women, and that may have led Dickens to his shrewd guess that George Eliot was a masculine disguise. The sex and the identity of the author were long in dispute. The interest of the plot,

the beauty of the narrative, and the originality of the dialogue, were the theme of universal admiration. George Eliot was indeed essentially a child of her age. Though she loved to depict the stiller life of an older time, her mind was full of modern speculative thought. She translated Strauss's *Life of Jesus*, and Feuerbach's *Essence of Christianity*. She had much sympathy with Comte, and his English disciples, Congreve, Harrison, Bridges, and Beesly, who all came, oddly enough, from the evangelical college of Wadham. From Herbert Spencer, and from George Henry Lewes, with whom so much of her life was spent, she acquired a knowledge of physical science, and of its methods, which became only too prominent in her later writings. 1857-65.

But the book which showed most plainly the influence, not to say the tyranny, of the scientific, or pseudo-scientific, spirit then prevalent, was Buckle's *History of Civilisation*. Henry Thomas Buckle was a very clever man, with a prodigious memory, who read all sorts of books, including dictionaries, and educated himself. Having inherited a large fortune, he devoted his short life entirely to historical work, and to the development of his dogma that the acquisition of scientific truth had been the sole cause of human progress by redeeming the mind from error, which he considered to be exclusively theological. He did not live to complete his work, and the fragment which was published, though interesting, is not important, because it constructs facts from theories, instead of theories from facts. It would have been well for Bishop Wilberforce's reputation if he had selected Buckle's book rather than Darwin's for review. Buckle's *History of Civilisation*.

At the same time with *Adam Bede* appeared *The Ordeal of Richard Feverel*. This work, re- George Meredith.

1857–65. garded by many critics as the author's masterpiece, made no impression whatever upon the general reader, and it was years before Mr. George Meredith's novels were appreciated, even by the literary world. Yet, since the death of Walter Scott, there had been no fiction so rich in imaginative romance, in profound knowledge of human nature, and in the humour with which pathos is mysteriously allied. Like Scott, Mr. Meredith is a poet as well as a novelist, and the poetic vein is seldom wanting in his prose. Both his prose and his poetry have been called, not without reason, obscure. But his obscurity is, so to speak, superficial. It is in the manner, not in the thought; in the expression, not in the idea. Fantastic he might better be called, for he broke impatiently with custom and convention. No other novelist was so much under the influence of Carlyle, and yet Meredith is always original. The greatest service his books rendered, apart from their literary value, is their exaltation of women in the economy of the world. The effect of his belief in the possible enlargement of women's sphere, and the development of their powers, was all the greater because it was subtle, because it reached the public through a few minds to whom Meredith at once appealed, and because it inspired confidence in women without parading their claims. The prosaic machinery of the Oxford and Cambridge local examinations, which were founded in 1858, gave girls almost for the first time an opportunity of intellectual competition with boys. But a man of genius, using his own methods, and following his own path, can do more for the advancement of social progress than an abstract theory, or a mechanical formula. The comparative freedom and independence which women now enjoy is due more to Meredith than to Parliament or to Mill.

Tennyson's most popular poems, *The Idylls of the King*, appeared in 1858, and though he afterwards added to them, it may be convenient to mention them here. They deal with the legendary history of King Arthur, as embodied in the fifteenth century by Sir Thomas Malory. But the old tales are put into a very modern shape, and the poet is always ready to draw the appropriate moral. The beauty and sweetness of the verse would not have appealed so strongly either to the Prince Consort or to the middle classes if they had not been accompanied by those improvements of the occasion which were Tennyson's real and only link with the lovers of sermons. *The Idylls* sold with immense rapidity. Far different was the fate of the *Rubáiyát of Omar Khayyám*, by Tennyson's old college friend, Edward FitzGerald. Many years afterwards, when these beautiful stanzas had long been familiar to all lovers of English poetry, and their author was dead, the Poet Laureate declared that it was the most divine translation he knew. But in 1859 it fell dead from the Press, and was sold to any one who would buy it for a penny. No English verse that is not original, even though it be Milton's or Dryden's, can be set beside this marvellous piece of jewelled craftsmanship. That it is a free rendering of the Persian poet, a poet earlier than Dante, several Persian scholars have taken the trouble to prove by more literal versions. But they only show that the letter killeth, the spirit giveth life. FitzGerald, a born man of letters, if ever there was one, and an inimitable correspondent, made many changes, most of them for the better, in subsequent editions. That the first should have escaped notice is a curiosity of literature which has never been adequately explained.

1857–65. *The Idylls of the King.*

Omar Khayyám.

The successive publication in 1859 and 1860 of

1857-65. Mill's two great treatises on political philosophy is an epoch in the intellectual life of England. His

Mill on Liberty. tract *On Liberty* is perhaps the most powerful and eloquent plea for the freedom and development of the individual which the English language contains, except Milton's *Areopagitica*. It is the antidote and corrective to Carlyle's doctrine of force, and, short as it is, a complete epitome of the Liberalism which consists in the removal of all unnecessary restrictions upon the minds or acts of men. Mill belonged to the school of Bentham and of Wilhelm von Humboldt. But he imparted to its doctrines a freshness, a sympathy, and an enthusiasm which appealed to the emotions as well as to the intellect. With Bentham and with Adam Smith freedom was little more than a negative sign, the absence of something positively mischievous, such as usury laws or protective duties. With Mill it became a spiritual aspiration, an end in itself, the full realisation of human energy and social progress. It was Mill's religion, as it was Milton's, though not connected in his case, as

Mill's *Representative Government.* in Milton's, with theology. *Representative Government*, though a drier book, is a more practical one, and no work of its illustrious author exhibits more clearly the constructive power of his mind. The chapter on the conditions which representative institutions postulate is of universal interest, while that devoted to the government of dependencies is a useful analysis of the colonial system. Arguing against imperial federation, not on principle, but on account of distance and diversity, Mill strenuously urges that all posts in the British Empire should be opened to colonists, and warmly praises Sir William Molesworth for having in his too brief administration of the Colonial Office appointed a native of Canada to the government of a West Indian Colony. It is unfortunate that this most

valuable book should have raised a controversy so keen that it diverted attention from the other and not less important questions which Mill discussed. Mill was a warm advocate for the representation of minorities, or, as he put it, of the whole people, and not merely a majority of them. The simplest method of carrying this principle into effect is to divide the country into districts, each returning three members, and to provide that no elector shall vote for more than two candidates. But Mill adopted with characteristic enthusiasm a scheme propounded by Thomas Hare, a barrister of Lincoln's Inn, under which the whole House of Commons would be elected by a single constituency, the voter indicating by numerals the degree of his preference for each candidate. That any one could have supposed such a system to be possible, even with the restricted franchise of 1860, is strange indeed. But the main proposition that a minority ought to have some representation, and not to be totally ignored, is very difficult to dispute, and is not adequately met by the replies that they can "turn themselves into a majority," or that if they are not represented in one place they are in another. The dispute has long been settled against Mill's views by the adoption of "single-member" constituencies. But in 1860 there were not many of these, and the subject was keenly, not to say hotly, argued on either side, despite the general indifference to Parliamentary reform.

1857-65.

Proportional representation.

Three weeks after the death of Cavour, a gifted Englishwoman, who might almost be called an Italian patriot, died at Casa Guidi in Florence. Mrs. Browning, despite all the artificiality of her style and manner, was a true child of the age in devotion to Italian freedom and independence as the most romantic of all causes then moving the world. The next autumn died Arthur Hugh

Death of Mrs. Browning, June 29, 1861;

of Clough, Nov. 13.

1857-65. Clough, also an ardent friend of Italy, and a poet of rare distinction, commemorated in *Thyrsis* by Matthew Arnold. Clough was too young to make use of his full powers. But he expressed better than any of his contemporaries, better even than Arnold himself, the mixture of religious sentiment and intellectual scepticism so popular and prevalent in England with the generation that succeeded Tractarianism. In 1862 George Meredith, already known as a novelist, published his first volume of poetry. Like his early novels, it did not suit the popular taste, for which it was too wayward, impulsive, eccentric, and daring. But the artistic beauty and imaginative power of such poems as *Love in the Valley* and the *Woods of Westermain* were felt even then by all true critics, and they have since achieved a world-wide fame.

Meredith's Poems.

Maine, Spencer, and Mill.

The political torpor of the Palmerstonian era did not extend to literature or to thought. Maine's

1861. *Ancient Law*, the first important work of a man who rendered many valuable services to jurisprudence both in India and at home, showed the profound influence exercised by Rome and by Greece through Rome upon modern institutions

1862. and ideas. Herbert Spencer's *First Principles*, the greatest metaphysical book written in English since Hume's *Treatise of Human Nature*, pronounced the origin and nature of things to be beyond the reach of the human intellect. Mill's

1863. *Utilitarianism*, not one of his best productions, expounded the most popular form of philosophy,

1865. and two years later his attack upon the system of Sir William Hamilton showed a wider range of critical thought than he had exhibited before. The English literature of 1863 included *Romola*, the most learned of historical novels, but not less rich in imagination and romance. The same year also were begun two historical works of very different

quality and value. In 1863 Samuel Rawson Gardiner commenced his profound studies of England in the seventeenth century, and William Alexander Kinglake his elaborate description of the Crimean War to the death of Lord Raglan. It was twenty-five years before Kinglake had accomplished his task, and Gardiner never ceased while he lived to labour in the field which he had chosen. The flash and glitter of Kinglake's brilliant and singularly artificial style have nothing in common with Gardiner's plain, accurate record of facts. Gardiner was essentially, and before all things, a student. Kinglake was nothing if not a man of the world. Yet it would be an imperfect definition of history which excluded either of them from its scope. But the greatest literary event of 1863 was the melancholy death of Thackeray at Christmas in his fifty-third year. In popularity as a novelist he had no rival except Dickens, for at that time George Eliot had not reached the zenith of her fame. As a social satirist he stood alone, and his fierce hatred of shams found a fitting vehicle in the unaffected purity of his English. He was a classic in his lifetime, and a classic he must always be. Another great writer of English published in 1864 the most interesting of his many volumes. Dr. Newman had left the Church of England and joined the Church of Rome in 1845. He had ever since lain under the not unnatural suspicion of having remained a clergyman of the Establishment after his adoption of Catholic doctrines and practices. A rather clumsy attack, made upon him by Charles Kingsley in 1864, led Newman to explain the process of his conversion, and indeed to write the story of his life before that event, in a volume which he called his *Apologia pro Vita Sua*. His reasons for joining the Church of Rome are too vague and

1857–65. Gardiner and Kinglake.

Death of Thackeray.

Newman's *Apology*.

1857-65. fanciful for ordinary minds. But his refutation of Kingsley was crushing, and the writer showed himself to be not merely a master of irony and eloquence, the first controversialist of the day, but transparently candid and single-minded in every thought and act of his life. After the publication of the *Apologia* Newman had a place in the minds of English Protestants peculiar to himself. The charges against him were never revived, and the book was regarded with affection as well as admiration in thousands of Protestant households. He remained, however, in his quiet oratory at Birmingham, while the more practical, energetic, and ambitious Manning was appointed by the Pope, of course without legal authority, and indeed in violation of the law, as it then stood, to succeed Wiseman as "Archbishop of Westminster."

Archbishop Manning. 1865.

The year 1864 was marked also by the appearance of a new poet, Algernon Charles Swinburne, whose *Atalanta in Calydon* was then first published. The riotous Paganism of this drama, Greek in form, though wanting the strength and calmness of Greek thought, was novel, and to many displeasing. But the wealth of Mr. Swinburne's vocabulary, the perfection of his rhythm, the picturesqueness of his images, and the swing of his choric metres were singularly attractive, especially to the young. To this year belongs also Munro's splendid edition of Lucretius, the noblest contribution to Latin scholarship ever made by the University of Cambridge. From Cambridge came in 1865 an anonymous volume called *Ecce Homo*, which excited the most opposite feelings in the most religious minds. Nobody could deny the beauty of the language or the reverence of the tone. But while Mr. Gladstone warmly eulogised the treatise, and described it as truly Christian in spirit, Lord Shaftesbury

Atalanta in Calydon.

Munro's *Lucretius.*

Ecce Homo.

denounced it as the "most pestilential book ever vomited from the jaws of hell." Lord Shaftesbury probably meant that it dwelt too exclusively upon the human nature of Christ. It would have been impossible for any author to handle his subject with more devout and solemn gravity. *Ecce Homo* is a masterpiece of rational religion suffused with the radiance of personal emotion. The publication of *Ecce Homo* was a religious event. The publication the same year of Matthew Arnold's *Essays in Criticism* was an event in the world of letters. Hitherto known only, or chiefly, as a poet, Mr. Arnold was henceforth regarded as the first English critic of the age, and worthy to be ranked with Hazlitt if not with Coleridge.[1]

1857–65.

Essays in Criticism.

The progress of science in the fifties and early sixties was chiefly, though not entirely, geographical. The Geographical Society achieved the high reputation which they have ever since enjoyed by despatching John Hannen Speke and Richard Francis Burton, afterwards Sir Richard Burton, to explore the sources of the Nile. Lake Tanganyika was discovered by Burton, and Lake Victoria Nyanza by Speke. The other source of the Nile, called Albert Nyanza, from which the White Nile flows, was also discovered by an Englishman, Samuel White Baker, in 1865. Thus the "mystery" of twenty centuries turned out to be no mystery at all. A greater man, David Livingstone, the devoted missionary and intrepid explorer, returned to

Geographical discovery.

Speke, Burton, and Livingstone.

[1] To a clerical tutor of Christ Church, calling himself Lewis Carroll, though his real name was Dodgson, must be credited not the least brilliant works of fancy produced in 1865. *Alice in Wonderland*, the most popular of all modern books for children, owed some of its success to the inimitable illustrations of John Tenniel, the colleague and successor of John Leech, whose premature death in 1864 was mourned by all readers of *Punch*. In 1865 appeared the first number of the *Fortnightly Review*, edited by George Henry Lewes, an organ of robust Liberalism and free thought, in which all articles were signed with the names of the writers.

1857–65. England from South Africa at the end of the year 1856, and was welcomed at the Geographical Dec. 15, 1856. Society by the President, Sir Roderick Murchison. Livingstone was a scientific astronomer, and during the sixteen years he had spent in the spread of the Gospel among the natives of South Africa he had also found time to make great geographical discoveries. He twice crossed the Continent from the Indian to the Atlantic Ocean. He followed the whole course of the Zambesi, and travelled altogether not less than eleven thousand miles. As Sir Roderick said in his Presidential Address, Livingstone "had come back to England as the pioneer of sound and useful knowledge, for by his astronomical observations he had determined the sites of numerous places, hills, rivers, and lakes, nearly all of which had been hitherto unknown, while he had seized upon every opportunity of describing the physical features, climatology, and geological structure of the countries which he had explored, and had pointed out many new sources of commerce as yet unknown to the scope and enterprise of the British merchant." No missionary, not even Henry Martyn, made a deeper impression upon the British public than Livingstone. He was a rare combination of zeal in making converts to Christianity and ardour in the pursuit of physical knowledge. His religion and his science, so far from interfering with each other, seemed to act and react as a mutual stimulant. When he left England in 1858 as British Consul in the Portuguese settlement of Delagoa, he had received as an illustrious Scotsman the freedom of Edinburgh, and his scientific reputation, in the broadly practical sense of that term, was equal to that which he held in the religious world.

Art: British art was at its lowest level in the sixth decade of the nineteenth century, and it deserved

most of what Ruskin said about it in his comments on successive Exhibitions of the Royal Academy. From its lamentable decadence it was rescued by Ruskin's friends of the Prae-Raphaelite Brotherhood, most of whom became justly famous in more than one form of artistic workmanship. John Everett Millais, whose early pictures mark an interesting step in the development of British art, gradually adopted a more popular style, attained great celebrity, and died President of the Royal Academy. Another member of the brotherhood, Ford Madox Brown, was cut off before the promise of his youth could be completely fulfilled. But Dante Gabriel Rossetti, William Morris, Edward Burne-Jones, and Holman Hunt are names which must always live, and live together, in the history of British art. Two of them, Morris and Rossetti, were poets of a very high order, and Rossetti's poems glow, like his pictures, with colour. It is not, however, their individual merits that make the chief interest of these great artists to the student of modern England on its æsthetic side. They founded a new school. Tennyson was superior as a poet, and Watts as a painter, to any of them. But Watts and Tennyson, with all their genius, proceeded on the old lines. Holman Hunt, Burne-Jones, Morris, and Rossetti struck out a line for themselves. Two of them were poets as well as artists, and Morris's *Defence of Guenevere*, which appeared in 1858, was the most original volume of verse that had appeared in England since *Lyrical Ballads*. Tennyson, Browning, even Swinburne, had some cause to urge, some lesson to teach, or some moral to draw. It was art, and art only, as the expression of nature and life, at which this group of poetic artists, or artistic poets, aimed. In their search they showed a passion for beauty

1857–65.

The work of the P.-R. B.

1857-65. and form which had gone far to perish altogether. Burne-Jones, from being the idol of a set, became the renowned and honoured chief of a famous decorative school, which has disciples in France, as well as in England. Morris's poems and wall-papers have eclipsed the fame of his paintings. But in 1857 he was an enthusiastic painter, devoted to mediæval subjects, and in the long vacation of that year he undertook, with Burne-Jones and Rossetti, to decorate the roof of the new debating-room for the Oxford Union Society. This was a disastrous enterprise, though at first it seemed to be completely successful. The pictures were painted in the bays between the windows, and the subjects were taken from the "Morte d'Arthur." Coventry Patmore, a fastidious critic, as well as a graceful poet, pronounced them in the month of December "so brilliant as to make the walls like the margin of an illuminated manuscript."[1] But never was genius more cruelly wasted by want of common sense and practical knowledge. This beautiful work, for which the artists would accept no remuneration beyond their actual expenses, perished before the outer world knew anything of it. It never had a chance. While Burne-Jones was painting the "Death of Merlin," and Rossetti "Sir Lancelot's Vision of the Sangrail," the mortar was still damp on the newly-built walls. The room was lighted by gas, and the gas was not surrounded by glass. Under the combined influences of smoke and moisture the pictures, miscalled frescoes, peeled and blackened into a ghastly wreck of designs which might have been an ornament of Oxford, and a credit to the age.

The decoration of the Oxford Union.

Alfred Stevens. It was in 1857 that the greatest sculptor of the century, and of many centuries, Alfred Stevens,

[1] Mackail's *Life of William Morris*, vol. i. p. 126.

received from the Government a commission to execute a memorial of the Duke of Wellington for St. Paul's Cathedral. Already known as the founder of the Sheffield School, and author of the beautiful sculpture in Dorchester House, he surpassed himself in the design of this heroic monument. But the sum voted by Parliament, fourteen thousand pounds, was inadequate for the completion of the work, and although Stevens actually contributed money from his private purse, he was never able to finish the undertaking. He did not execute the equestrian statue which was to have surmounted the groups below, and Dean Milman is reported to have said that he would not suffer the Duke to come riding into the church. There have been few more deplorable examples of national indifference to art than the treatment of Stevens and his work by the Ministers of the Crown, the representatives of the people, and the custodians of the Metropolitan Cathedral.[1] 1857–65.

The literary and artistic revival which followed the Crimean War reached its appropriate climax in the critical essays of Matthew Arnold. Arnold, like Coleridge, was both a critic and a poet. As a poet and as a critic he was inferior to that great man. But he had the same combination of qualities, though not in equal degree, and despite the Puritan element which he had inherited from his father, he taught that literature should be held in the same respect as morality. The apostle of sweetness and light was at the head of the movement towards a higher ideal of form and style than the fifth or sixth decade of the century had known. His campaign against the "Philistines," to use the word which he introduced from Germany, was assisted by painters and sculptors, for whose work he

[1] Stevens was a painter as well as a sculptor; but it is upon his sculpture that his fame rests.

1857-65. cared little or nothing. For his illustrious contemporary, Ruskin, whose style at its best has scarcely been surpassed in magnificence, he had hardly a word of praise. Yet he and Ruskin were unconsciously co-operating against the Philistine or utilitarian view of literature and art. The notion that if a man had something to say, and could put it into plain English, he had fulfilled all the requirements of authorship, was widely held, if not frequently expressed, during the first twenty years of Queen Victoria's reign. It may be said to have found its last stronghold in the novels of Anthony Trollope, which reproduce with photographic fidelity the daily conversation of people without knowledge or ideas. The entire conception of beauty is absent from writings of this sort, as from pictures like "The Derby Day," and portraits like Sir Francis Grant's. It is a lesson as old as Athens that the humblest object of daily use may be made beautiful, or may be made ugly, and this was the creed of the men to whose influence the modern resurrection of art is due. Ruskin, Arnold, Burne-Jones, and Morris were all educated at Oxford. But they were men of original character, not cast in the same mould, nor following the same type. The point they all held in common with each other, and with Rossetti, was the ardent pursuit of beauty in form and in imagination as an absolute good and an end in itself. Tennyson, in his *Idylls of the King*, treated the legend of King Arthur and the Round Table from a moral point of view. Morris, in his *Defence of Guenevere*, and the other mediæval poems published along with it, simply aimed at reproducing the life and colour, the tragedy and pathos, the passion and the cruelty, of the period which he loved most and understood best. *Goblin*
1862. *Market*, the work of Christina Rossetti, the

painter's sister, is almost as much a picture as a poem, and is as close to art as it is far from convention. When literature becomes a mere vehicle for the conveyance of fact and opinion, it is in danger of starving. Swinburne's *Atalanta*, George Meredith's early poems, Madox Brown's famous picture "Work," are all examples of the revolt against the commonplace which set in about the year 1860. *Essays in Criticism*, though it taught many people many things, was itself a product of the age. Fresh minds were moving in new paths. In art and literature, as in religion and science, it was neither necessary nor adequate to produce a precedent. Originality, instead of being suspected and distrusted, came rather to be overvalued and overpraised. It became the fashion to exalt Carlyle as an historian above Macaulay, and to reckon George Meredith a greater novelist than Thackeray or Scott. The fashions of this world pass away, and Scott, Thackeray, Macaulay remain where they were. The judgments of Matthew Arnold, like the judgments of other critics, have been modified or reversed by time. His value in history is not so much individual as representative. He stands out as the most prominent figure of an age which turned with impatience from conventional standards to a wider horizon of artistic beauty, and a higher summit of philosophic truth. 1857–65.

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